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JAPAN, THE AMOOR,

AND

THE PACIFIC

WITH NOTICES OF OTHER PLACES

COMPRISED IN

A VOYAGE OF CIRCUMNAVIGATION

IN THE IMPERIAL RUSSIAN CORVETTE "RYNDA,"

IN 1858—1860.

88661

BY

HENRY ARTHUR TILLEY.

WITH EIGHT ILLUSTRATIONS.

LONDON:
SMITH, ELDER AND CO., 65, CORNHILL.

M.DCCC.LXI.

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Hanhart, lith.

HOUSE AT YEDO, WITH GROUP OF JAPANESE.

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PREFACE.

In the following pages the Author has endeavoured to depict the scenes and incidents of an interesting voyage of circumnavigation, as well as the present state of all those countries he visited, among which two are but little known as yet; viz. Japan, and the territory lately ceded to Russia at the mouth of the Amoor.

Although several works have been already published lately on the former country, still the Author hopes that his account of a residence of more than three months, every day of which he was moving among the people, may add yet a little more knowledge to the public concerning that most interesting country and its inhabitants.

With regard to the Russian settlements at the mouth of the Amoor, the Author was the first Englishman who ever landed there. All his remarks and opinions are those of an unbiassed mind wishing to

describe what *really is;* and the information he offers is as complete as his means of observation and research allowed.

In extenuation of any slight errors, the Author must beg indulgence by stating that the whole work was written when in a state of constant locomotion, and that he was thousands of miles distant at the time of its going through the press.

Alexandretta, Syria, January, 1861.

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JAPAN, THE AMOOR, AND THE PACIFIC.

CHAPTER I.

Russian Squadron—Voyage to Teneriffe—Santa Cruz—Cape Verde Islands—Porto Grande—Rio Janeiro—Entry into the Bay—Immigration—Environs of City—Petropolis—Hospital and French Sœurs de Charité—Polka Fever—Departure—Simon's Bay.

In September, 1858, an offer was suddenly made me to undertake a voyage round the world. As I am excessively fond of travelling, though my experience of travel had been as yet only that of a student wandering through my own country, France, and Germany, I accepted the proposal with pleasure. And the desire of making such a voyage was increased, when I heard that it was to be on board a Russian ship of war. There was not only the opportunity of seeing strange lands and their peoples, but the facility of studying a class of men almost strangers to us, during the intervening passages at sea.

Two days only were allowed me to prepare for a voyage of two years; but what is not possible in our

land of railways, telegraphs, and sewing machines? The second night, therefore, I was on the road to Paris; the third day passing through Brittany on my way to Brest. On my arrival there I was most kindly received by Commodore Popoff, the Commander of the little Russian Squadron, and by him introduced on board his ship, the *Rynda*, which was to be my home for more than two years. Two black-looking corvettes, called the *Rynda* and *Gudin*, mounting each 11 guns, and a clipper gunboat, called the *Opritchnik*, comprised the squadron.* Their destination was the Amoor River; but as the Commander had full liberty to touch at any ports he pleased, and as he was himself a curious and enterprising man, the voyage promised to be very interesting.

These corvettes, two of seven, all similar, had been constructed in great haste at St. Petersburg during the war. The gun-boat was also one of a number which had been built in the White Sea, at Archangel. The officers on board, mostly very young men, were of good family, well-educated and gentlemanly fellows; and for their uniform kindness and attention to me throughout the voyage, I must ever remember them with pleasure. Like myself, nobody on board had ever made a similar voyage, so that the charm of novelty exercised the same influence on all.

* The words Rynda and Gudin are names of officers formerly about the old Muscovite Court. Opritchnik, one of the Opritchnina, or body-guard of Ivan Vasilevitch, surnamed the Terrible. This guard consisted of one thousand men, chosen from the nobility. They were the terror of the people. From their saddles hung dogs' heads and a broom of twigs, to show that their office was to bite the enemies of their master, and to sweep them away.

We left Brest a few days after my arrival, and steamed out of the celebrated *Goulet*, or mouth of the harbour of Brest, towards which, in former years, so many anxious eyes of English naval commanders were turned, in expectation of the French Fleet issuing therefrom. No sooner were we well out at sea than a heavy gale of wind initiated me into the pleasures of a maritime life.

Adverse winds prolonged our voyage southward as far as the Canary Islands. When about 120 miles from Teneriffe,* the remarkable peak of that island rose above the horizon. Accompanying the commodore on board the gun-boat, we steamed towards it; the two corvettes continuing their route to a given rendezvous further south. All the next day we had the magnificent cone in view, sometimes wholly visible, sometimes only its summit appearing above the girdle of clouds which encircled the whole island. At night we lay to off the north-east point, and at dawn skirted its eastern shores, covered with rugged lava hills, their summits only clothed with forests of the Canary pine, and their valleys half concealing a few huts, a vineyard, or a verdant patch of garden. On approaching Santa Cruz, a pilot came out, and brought us to anchor before that town.

No sooner were we on shore, than a crowd of beggars surrounded us, not timidly holding out the hand for charity, but clamouring for it with sturdy importunity. When clear of these for a time, we mounted on horseback, and examined the town and environs. The nature of the Canary Islands strikes the newly

* It is visible in very clear weather, at a radius of 150 sea miles.

arrived European the more, as he there obtains his first view of tropical vegetation, the palm, the cactus, and the aloe. The town is surrounded by pretty gardens of oranges, citrons, &c., but is otherwise uninteresting. It is necessary to explore the interior of the island, the vicinity of the peak, and the small inland towns, in order to have seen the beauties of Teneriffe. I wonder that English tourists do not oftener visit the Canary Islands. They are only a week's steaming from England, and the beauties of nature, and the originality of the people, would well repay a visit.

Leaving Santa Cruz, we steamed to where the two other ships were lying-to for us, and then together continued the voyage, arriving at Porto Grande, Island of St. Vincent, on the 17th November.

Porto Grande is the best harbour in the Cape Verde Islands, being completely sheltered from the west by the Island of St. Antonio. It is the great coaling station in the Atlantic, and the least unhealthy spot in all the islands. The population consists of some hundreds of negroes and mulattoes, and a few black soldiers, the whole under a Portuguese governor. The scene around is miserably desolate, presenting only volcanic cones of ashes and lava, with a few cacti and euphorbiæ scattered here and there. Behind the village is a graveyard, the broken-down entrance to which is surmounted by the American eagle. Within, the mounds were numerous, and the inscriptions told us that the dead had all been victims to African fever: they were mostly American and English seamen. The grave of one, a captain in the English navy, was

covered with an old chest, on which were rudely written his name and fate.

We left Porto Grande with the trade wind, which just began to be felt. On the 28th we crossed the Line, in longitude 28° W., and the event was celebrated by a fête among the officers, given by the commodore, and by divers amusements among the men. The usual weather—rain, thunder, and lightning—had been experienced in the equatorial belt of calms, but we soon steamed through this, and met the south-east trade-wind.

On Wednesday, 8th December, at dawn, Cape Frio was in sight, bearing N.N.W. about thirty miles. It was on the Isle of Frio that his Majesty's frigate *Thetis*, laden with treasure, was wrecked on the 5th of December, 1830: a great part of the money was, however, recovered during the following year.

With what pleasure is the first sight of land hailed by those who, for long, tedious weeks have had nothing but the eye-wearying features of water and sky before them! With what desire did we not look forward to many a ramble through this garden of nature we were about to visit! The first lieutenant at the masthead declared he had sniffed the delicious perfume of the herbs and flowers borne to him on the dying morning breeze. I followed his example, and went aloft, but although I tried hard to smell the scented gale, the freshness of the morning had already passed, and with it the perfume of the flowers from the land. It is said, however, that under favourable circumstances, the land has been smelt long before the eye perceived it.

Our entry into the harbour of Rio was accompanied

by mist and rain, so that the beautiful scenery was lost upon us. The Sugar Loaf was veiled in mist: we just caught sight of the fort of Santa Cruz and its lowered flag, as we passed abreast. As soon as our little corvette had thundered forth its twenty-one guns, and Fort Vilganhon had returned the compliment, we were passing alongside the French Admiral, whose band struck up the Russian national air. With heads uncovered, as in duty bound, and hair dripping with rain, we stood returning the salutes of the officers on the quarter-deck, who, as long as we were uncovered, remained the same, until we had swept by. No sooner had the French Admiral finished, than the *Old Cumberland,* the English Admiral's ship, took up the strain, and gave us once again the whole melody. I must confess here that the music on board the French frigate was vastly superior to that of the two-decker English. A few minutes more and the anchors were let go; the chain cable rattled through the hawse-holes, and we found ourselves moored a hundred yards from the English Admiral.

The vast empire of Brazil, with an area of 6,000,000 of square miles, possesses only a population of 8,000,000, including 20,000 colonists of different nations, and about the same number of the aborigines, half reclaimed from their savage state, but prone to relapse into it whenever they find an opportunity. They are perishing visibly, and must soon become extinct.

It strikes one with pity towards the owners of this magnificent country, to see large tracts of fertile land in the immediate vicinity of Rio without the least

cultivation. In many of the numerous islands of the bay which I visited, where the richest vegetation and the most beautiful flowers springing at once from the granite-fringed surface of the water proclaimed the fertility of the soil, a few square feet only were cultivated; the rest was the home of the snake and the lizard. Were such a country in other hands, how different would be the result. Yet here it can hardly be otherwise; the abolition of the slave-trade paralyzed what little energy there was: the abolition of slavery would entirely ruin the country. Free colonization must first take place on a large scale; instead of twenty thousand, there must be twenty millions: and to bring this to pass, the laws relating to immigrants must first be changed; all religions must be tolerated, and security given against the agents of emigration and their fraudulent practices; then may Brazil offer a home and abundance to the overstocked and laborious populations of Europe

In Rio de Janeiro, and throughout Brazil generally, every article of necessity or fancy is exorbitantly dear;

* Land is remarkably cheap in Brazil. According to an official document published in 1850, commissioners were appointed for the sale of public lands at prices varying from 1*s.* 6*d.* to 5*s.* 6*d.* per acre, according to the position and fertility of the land. Labour being paid very high, many persons have amassed money enough to become proprietors of land to some extent. The great drawbacks are, the heat of the climate, the absence of roads to any extent into the interior, and the necessity of sending the produce for export to certain ports. The first may be modified by care and temperate habits; the latter two causes they are taking some steps to remove. For the well-being of the country every means should be taken to keep up a stream of immigration; as it is known that negroes, the present workers of the soil, are not reproduced, and the slave treaty prohibits fresh supplies.

and I am sorry to remark that the stranger must, in addition, submit to the dishonesty of the dealer, who will ask him double the price that a native would pay. The excessive dearness of Rio falls very hard on people of small means just arrived from Europe; and I heard several complaints from officers of the navy, who receive only their ordinary pay, while most other services allow double to the crews on this station. A *mil reis* (about half-a-crown) has the relative value in regard to what it can purchase that sixpence has in England.

There is nothing particularly worthy of notice in the city itself. The palace is a mean building; the churches are not to be looked at after those of Spain, Belgium, and France. In the neighbourhood, however, are some interesting rides, provided there has not been so much rain as to make the roads knee-deep in mud. The Corcovada and Gavia mountains are worth visiting, as is also the Botanic Garden, with its beautiful avenue of palms, consisting of about one hundred trees, which has at least the effect of great novelty to a European eye. The opposite side of the bay, the village of St. Domingo, and, above all, some of the numerous islets with which the bay is dotted, ought to be visited. These latter are perfect gardens of nature. From the verge of the water, all up their granite-ribbed sides, spring the huge-leaved cactus and aloe; a thousand gay flowers of different hues twine and wreathe round the thick undergrowth, and the air is loaded with the perfume of the herbs, which grow knee-deep over the surface.

Petropolis, a German colony, the summer residence

of the court, the ambassadors, and the chief men of Rio, is approached by steamboat, rail, and carriage. It is picturesquely situated some distance up in the mountains, in a cool and refreshing atmosphere. A visit was made there to call upon the Russian ambassador, whose post cannot be an enviable one. His life must be one of *ennui à la mort*, without even the relief of sporting, unless a long and fatiguing journey be made into the interior. Again, the selfish exclusiveness of the Brazilians does not tend to enliven a prolonged stay in the country. Not that they are wanting in formal hospitality, but their reception of strangers forms a striking contrast with what the traveller may experience in the towns of the Argentine Republics.

One of my first visits to public buildings was paid to the "Misericordia." This excellent establishment may bear comparison with the best of our European hospitals. Here, as in most other spots in the wide wide world, where humanity lies suffering and disabled, are found those excellent creatures, the Sœurs de St. Vincent de Paul. Our doctor and myself conversed for some time with the lady principal, and with the still young sœur who showed us round the wards. This latter was an accomplished person. She spoke English and German very well, and her whole manner bespoke a lady of no inferior station. We were talking to her of the probability of any of us being under her care, when the report of cannon from the bay interrupted our conversation. Little did we think that at that very moment one of our own poor fellows was being blown into the water from a gun he was loading. Such was, however, the case, as we learned a few

moments after leaving. The French Admiral was leaving the *Gudin*. The twelfth gun, not properly stopped at the vent, when being sponged, exploded, and shattered the arm of the poor fellow (one of the best men, as is usually the case) who was loading it. He was immediately removed to the hospital, had his arm amputated, and in ten days—thanks to the care bestowed on him—was removed on board previous to our sailing. This accident caused a second and third visit to the Misericordia. In the different wards, whites and blacks, slaves and free, were side by side; among them several English and American sailors—victims of their own imprudence perhaps—in the delirium of intermittent fever. One, an English sailor, the Sister told me, was the nuisance of the whole ward. While I was there, he was cursing and swearing, and complaining in incoherent phrases that they gave him sweet water instead of grog; but the good creature who attended him excused his roughness and brutality, and ascribed it all to the paroxysm of fever. If she can boast of nothing else, Rio may be proud of her Misericordia.

The yellow fever was not raging during our stay, and the hospital appointed for the victims of that malady was empty. Much havoc had been made during latter years by cholera. Lallemont, a German physician, of seventeen years' practice in Rio, in his work on the Gelbe Fieber, accounts for its prevalence from the exhalations of animal and vegetable matter, festered by the broiling sun, which arise from the low shores of the bay. Its first appearance in Rio long puzzled the physicians of the place. It received

the name of the Polka Fever, from the fact of that dance having been just introduced, and being all the rage.

Our stay in Rio was short, but long enough to lose one man from fever, and to have many more in a sickly state. And nobody was sorry when the anchor was once more at the bows and the ship speeding on her way to the Cape.

On the 23rd January, we were once more at anchor in Simon's Bay.

CHAPTER II.

Simon's Bay—Road to Cape Town—Gardens, Museum—S. E. winds of the Cape—Constantia and its Wines—Ascent of Table Mountain—Dutch *versus* English—Peculiarities of Population—A Ball—Trip into the Interior—Horses—The Paarl—Its Vineyards—Monkeys—Aspect of Country—Baine's Kloof—A Fortunate Emigrant—Animals and Sporting—Mode of Travelling in Colony—Stellenbosch—Excitement of Dutch Boers about Railway—A Field for Emigration.

A WEEK passed in Simon's Bay offers little that can interest the eye or amuse the mind. Equal in size to a small English village, it contains much about the same ingredients: a tolerable inn, numerous low grog-shops, a few stores; these, with the Government buildings, constitute Simon's Town. The neigbourhood is composed of high, precipitous sandstone hills, covered with bush, heath, and many pretty flowers in their season, but quite impracticable for walking, on account of the loose rock which strews the surface. Besides, unless your ship lies close into the land, the communication to and fro is very difficult, on account of the strong south-east winds during the summer season; and it several times happened that I was obliged to pass the night on one of our vessels lying more inshore, as I found it impossible to reach the *Rynda*, which was the farthest out.

It must seem to any observer, on riding from

Simon's Bay to Cape Town, that the whole of the Cape Peninsula was at some remote period one or more islands, and that False and Table Bays were the extremities of the strait between the mainland and island. The space between is now sand soil covered with bushes, and but little above the sea level. The first ten miles of the road to Cape Town are detestable, what is called a beach road; and as the sands sometimes shift, it is no unusual thing to stick in the sand wheel deep. Passing round two small bays, in which are a few fishermen's huts for curing herrings and Cape salmon, you arrive at the third, Kalk Bay, which is quite a little fishing village, to judge from the number of boats and tubs for salting which extend along the beach. But the Leviathan of the ocean, whose bones converted into garden fences everywhere meet the eye, no longer gives occupation to the colonists: once so frequent here, it is now no more seen. Herrings and Cape salmon are the principal fish caught; they are salted and conveyed into the interior, where they are consumed by the farmers; quantities are also exported.

Rounding the Muisenberg, just beyond Kalk Bay, the road becomes level, and runs in many parts through avenues of oak and fir-trees. The latter are mostly inclined to an angle of 40° by the continued strain of the S. E. winds. One or two pretty little villages are on the road. A little to the left is Wynberg, the residence of many of the merchants of Cape Town, a delightful spot; near this place also, is the country residence of the Governor, Sir G. Grey. Having left Simon's Town at 7 A. M., we arrived in Cape Town at

10, and not finding room at the Masonic Hotel, put up at the Commercial, kept by a Dutchman. The usual price of living at Cape Town is 7*s*. 6*d*. per diem, whether you dine or not in the hotel.

After breakfast the doctor and myself sallied out to see the lions of the place. Of course the first object which a traveller nearing the Cape by land or sea would look for, is the Table Mountain. There it is, standing as it were over the town with its precipitous sides, seeming to defy an escalade, and flanked by the Devil's Berg on one side, and the Lion's Hill on the other,—the latter in form like a gigantic Egyptian statue of a lion couchant. Leaving the ascent of these for a future day, we entered the Botanic Gardens, in which is assembled a good collection of the flora of the colony. They are situated opposite the governor's residence, and the avenue of oaks which leads to both is the favourite promenade of the burghers of Cape Town. In the afternoon, the band of the garrison played in the gardens: it was a miniature Wednesday of Regent's Park, with all the beauty of the place in small bonnets and inflated crinolines after most approved European models.

We paid, during our stay, a visit to the South African Museum. Here I expected to find a collection of all the natural curiosities of the South of Africa, but half the objects were from other parts of the world. Trophies from Bomarsund, consisting of musket and bayonet, surmounted by a pair of scissors left by some Russian dame in her hasty flight, adorn the walls. A few stuffed antelopes and leopards, models of the natives, and a few specimens of Cape

mineralogy, comprise the only things which properly belong to the country. How interesting would it be to a traveller to find the productions of such a land properly classified, instead of being mixed *pêle mêle* with articles from every other part of the world.

Cape Town has been so often described, that I shall not attempt it here. A day or two showed us the disagreeable side of a residence there. The town is paved with red sandstone, which soon crumbles to pieces, and when the S. E. commences, such a cloud of dust is whirled about in all directions, that, on returning home, one has the appearance of a brick-maker. To guard the eyes from its ill effects, the inhabitants wear a veil over their faces—a habit which the passing stranger will do well to copy. These S. E. winds are one of the remarkable phenomena of the south of Africa; with a bright sky, their first appearance is marked by the Table Mountain putting on its "cloth," or perruque, as the French call it. This generally takes place about mid-day, when the whole mountain is soon covered with mist; this, arrested on the top, is condensed, or poured like smoke over its sides, until it is evaporated. Not a cloud, however, passes from it to obscure the bright blue which is over the town. A little after noon it commences to blow, the whole town and shipping are enveloped in a cloud of dust, ships are torn from their anchors and driven against one another, or slip their cables and put to sea. Towards morning the wind moderates, but recommences generally at the same time on the morrow. During our stay of six weeks, I do not think there were six days in which we did not have a succession of these

winds. Their continuance may always be judged of by observing the range of mountains extending from Cape Handklip into the interior. Here the clouds remain settled, piled one on the other, for days together, and are a beautiful sight to watch, when reflecting the sun's rays at different hours of the day. During our stay the *Megæra*, the admiral's flag-ship, was driven by those winds from her anchors, and obliged to run to sea. This caused the more consternation, because the officers were that evening to have given a dramatic representation in the theatre.

No one, however short his stay, would think of leaving without paying a visit to Constantia. So a day or two after our arrival at Cape Town, we drove over through the pretty village of Wynberg, and were most hospitably received by young Mr. Van Reinen, the proprietor of High Constantia. On this estate, which is only of a few acres, the wine is no longer made from the half-dried grape, as formerly. At Great Constantia, the property of Mr. Van Cloot, the wine is thick and luscious, more like a liqueur; it is considered to be the best Constantia. The best wine, however, to my taste, is a light wine resembling hock, and at least drinkable — which cannot be said of Cape wines in general; for the so-called Madeira and Sherry are so filled with tartar, that on drinking them for some time, disagreeable symptoms of acidity show themselves. This applies only to the ordinary wines, and those when new, as mostly sold.

In company with our doctor and the first lieutenant of the clipper, I ascended the Table Mountain. The ravine, at the back of the town, the channel of the

Rio Dulce, is the best way for making the ascent. When you have passed through two or three whole regiments of laughing, chattering washerwomen of every hue, from white, or *café au lait*, to jet black, of all breeds, mixed and mixed again, Dutch, Hottentot, Malay, and Madagascan, standing up to their naked knees in the brook, and hammering the linen upon the smooth worn rock, you soon arrive at the bounds of cultivation. On then through the wild beauty of nature, over immense slabs of granite, polished by the floods of ages, through groves of acacia-trees reeking with perfume, until at about the height of 2,000 feet you reach the head of the ravine. From this point the way is over loose stones, up rudely formed steps five or six feet high, by immense boulders which have been torn from the mountain; on looking up you may see others impending, that seem as if a push would precipitate them upon you, and from which the water is distilling in crystal drops glittering in the sun. You hear a curious cry, and beneath are black monkeys skipping about the rocks. Of these, however, but few are left; they have very wisely migrated to less disturbed quarters. We had started from Cape Town at ten o'clock in the morning, and did not reach the summit until four o'clock: the height is about 3,600 feet above the sea level. It is said that numerous picnic parties go up every year; if the ladies of Cape Town can manage the ascent on the town side, they must be possessed of no small powers of endurance.

On reaching the plateau on the summit, fatigue is forgotten in admiration of the prospect. The town

lies beneath, at the base of the lion's mountain; the shipping and Robben Island, with the blue ocean forming a background; in the distance ranges of hills rise from the mainland; and if you turn your back to these, you see the Cape, the extremity of Africa, and the vast waste of the Southern Ocean.

We had started with a N.W. wind, but on nearing the summit, could distinctly mark by the thin flying vapour the various currents which seemed to meet at the N.W. point of the mountain. The plateau has an abundant supply of water, condensed from the clouds ever resting on it; it filtrates through the sandstone, and gushes out in all directions from its sides, and especially just above its granite base. It took us about three hours to descend. There is another much more practicable way, by going round by Constantia, where the ascent is more gradual. Care should be had, however, not to attempt the excursion without a guide, during the S.E. winds, as fatal accidents often occur from persons losing themselves in the mist, and falling into one of the numerous crevices. This was the fate of a poor fellow only a few days before our arrival.

Nearly all the houses of Cape Town have "stoeps" and porches before the door. The rooms are without plastered ceilings; the wooden beams being varnished. Many houses have but one story, so that the rooms are lofty and spacious. As for their inhabitants, what strikes a stranger most of all, is the ignorance of the English language among the old settlers. After sixty-four years' possession by the English, this seems incomprehensible: Dutch, indeed, seems much more

necessary than English, especially in the interior. Not alone the lower class, but men of wealth and station are apparently unable to speak English; though I was often assured that it is not ignorance, but hatred, which prevents them. An example lately occurred, which is recorded by Mr. Calderwood: "It was voted in the Dutch synod that the professors should not speak or teach the English language, and only negatived by forty against thirty-six." The coming generation give promise of more liberal feelings in this and other things.

Besides the English and Dutch, the population consists of various crosses between them and the aborigines, and the slaves formerly imported from the Malay Islands and Mozambique. Few pure Hottentots are to be seen, and still fewer Caffres; at least, in the neighbourhood of Cape Town. The general name of Africanders, is given to the motley population, whatever may be their colour. Many of the women of this class are finely formed and very beautiful; amongst whom, those of Madagascar descent may be distinguished by their elasticity and suppleness of figure, while those of the Hottentot preserve somewhat of their original prominent peculiarities.

During our stay, Cape Town was enlivened by the visit of many foreigners; a French regiment *en route* for the East, Spanish officers returning from Manilla, and Dutch from Batavia. At a ball given by the town to the officers of the fleet, all these were assembled; and the mixture of uniforms, of English, French, and Russians, together with the presence of a crowd of pretty women, rendered the scene very

attractive. There is no necessity, it would seem, that bachelor emigrants should return to England to find partners, as certainly few towns of the size in Europe, can produce more beauty than I saw assembled that evening.

Having seen all that was interesting in Cape Town, I started with Ivan Ivanovitch, the secretary of the expedition, for a short trip into the interior. My friend, who was writing a history of the voyage for the Russian Government, was anxious to see a little beyond the capital of the colony. Mounted, therefore, on the top of a lumbering omnibus, with eight fine horses and two black Jehus, one to hold the reins and the other to use the whip, we proceeded at a furious gallop over the twenty miles of sandy plain which separate the Cape peninsula from the high land of the interior. Our team was afterwards increased to ten, and on the road we frequently saw teams of twelve and fourteen; these are guided by two pairs of reins, one for the leaders, and the other for those near the wheels. The whip, a bamboo some fifteen feet long, with a thong of twisted deer-skin about double that length, required all the strength of arm of our whipper to wield it with success. Driving four-in-hand in England is nothing to this, dashing along ten miles an hour over a sandy road often full of holes. The Cape horses are small, hardy, and full of vigour, and will stand an extraordinary amount of work. Their value has, within the last few years, nearly doubled, on account of the number bought up by the remount agents for India. As a farmer said to me, "They go sixty or eighty miles

a day for a week together, and get no better treatment than, at the end of the day, to have their heads tied to their knees, and be left to shift for themselves." After a few hours we arrived at the pretty district of the Paarl, where the French Protestants, who had taken refuge in Holland after the revocation of the edict of Nantes, were planted by the Dutch Colonial Government.

The district of the Paarl is chiefly laid out in vineyards and corn land, and is considered one of the best cultivated parts of the colony. Here we paid a visit to Mr. Isaac Bosman, a fine healthy old Dutchman, seventy years of age, and proprietor of one of the best vineyards. Like most of his countrymen, he did not, or would not, speak English; but as his Dutch was tolerably pure, we got on very well together, by our speaking German. His little estate was quite a paradise; having a fine collection of indigenous trees, among which the Caffre tree was conspicuous, groves of mulberries, oranges, and citrons. As it was the time of wine harvest, he showed us the different processes of making Frontignac, Pontac and sherry; also his distillery, which was in full work. Among the wines was a fine Pontac of 1801, of which he had only about fifty gallons left, and which he told us he reserved for the use of the church. It was certainly quite equal to any Constantia we had previously tasted. The great enemies of the vineyards are the black baboons, which descend from the neighbouring hills and commit great depredations; and the cunning rascals choose their time so well, that the mischief is only seen when the enemy has departed.

Having engaged a cart and four horses, with an intelligent Mozambique lad about twelve years of age (though he did not know his age) for our driver, we proceeded on our trip. The districts such as the Paarl are but oases amid thousands of acres of uncultivated land. Between each range of hills is the same dark sandy soil, covered with stunted brushwood, which will only be brought into cultivation when the country becomes thickly populated. It is between the sloping limbs of the hills, that you perceive a thick cluster of dark green; from this issues a stream of water, and its course is marked through the valley by the winding line of verdure. It is here that may be seen the snug white homestead of the settler, encompassed by cedars or oaks, bright green vineyards, and yellow corn. Passing the pretty village of Wellington, you soon begin to ascend the kloof or pass through the mountains, called Baine's kloof, from the name of the engineer. The view from the summit and during the descent is very fine. After about six hours' ride we reached a rude building of boards at the foot of the pass, where we spent the night.

Our host had killed a fatted sheep, and after supper we went to our rude but exquisitely clean room, through the chinks of which the rays of the moon were penetrating, and with them the wind; much to the disgust of my otherwise romantic friend, who was a poet, but preferred the pleasures of imagination among the soft carpeted rooms of St. Petersburg to the settler's rude abode in a distant colony. The owner of the place was a fine young fellow from the west of England, who had emigrated some four-

teen years ago, and was now, he told me, making a good fortune. He was farmer, inn-keeper, post-master, government inspector, and many things besides; was boots, chambermaid, waiter, or anything else that he saw necessary. Withal, he was pretty well educated, expressed himself well, and was altogether a superior man of his class. Knowing the interest taken at home in matters connected with emigration, I noted down his struggles, as those of a successful emigrant.

Fourteen years ago, he emigrated as a lad, from his native village. On board ship was a lady of influence, going to join her husband in Australia. She took a fancy to the lad, and gave him a letter of introduction to one of the colonial officers; but nearly a year expired without his obtaining any appointment: the usual reply, "call again," continued week after week, until his perseverance wearied his patron, and he was asked if he thought that the secretary meant to shoot a man to make place for him. He then, when his money was all spent, began to look out for himself, and wisely took the first thing that offered. He was appointed police constable to a gang of convicts employed in making the road over which he had travelled. The young man was persevering, honest, and above all, sober. He met a companion, an Irishman, in the same position as himself; and feeling no doubt that *l'union c'est la force*, they laid together a plan to make a fortune. Their earnings for a year or two were saved and placed at interest at six per cent., until a small capital was amassed. He then told me his struggles as a small storekeeper, keeper of the tolls, and in various other attempts. In his little store, he

had plenty of visitors, he said; it being the only house on the road, and thirty miles distant from the nearest town: one voyager wanted something to eat, another something for his horse; some wanted to pass the night, and were obliged to sleep as they could. This, as he said, ate up all his profits, for he never took money for such slight entertainment; at last the idea came into his head to open a sort of inn. The wooden barracks of the police being for sale, the two men bought them, and from that time, seven years ago, commenced their fortune. Both are well known and respected in the district. Only a short time before my visit, they together bought a farm of three thousand acres, of which the Irishman is in charge, while the Englishman, as before said, manages the inn.

Wild animals of all sorts are becoming scarce; Spring-bok and Reh-bok are to be found, but the pursuit is very fatiguing. They are mostly shot by the farmers from horseback: persons travelling through the country have generally a gun in the cart, as an opportunity often presents itself when least expected. There are still many leopards, or Cape tigers, about the hills, and they are very destructive to the flocks. The farmers set iron traps for them, and shoot them when they are fixed by the leg. The master of the *Rynda*, walking among the hills at the back of Simon's-town, saw a she leopard and two cubs only a hundred yards off; much as I wandered, however, with my gun in search of game, I never had the good fortune to get sight of one. Formerly, there were many wolves in this district, and the ravine where the inn stands, is called Wolver Kloof on that

account. Black baboon apes are everywhere common among the rocks, but generally where the step of men cannot reach. Birds, such as partridges, quails, &c., are abundant, and afford good sport.

The usual mode of travelling, beyond the immediate vicinity of Cape Town, is by bullock waggon, with a team generally of fourteen or sixteen fine oxen, yoked two and two. The waggon is of a long oval shape and covered with canvas. For the long journeys into the interior, horses, and even mules are of little use, while a yoke of oxen are capable of bearing prolonged fatigue, and what is more important, they always find their own fodder. It is a pretty sight that presents itself at the "outspanning" places by the wayside. About every ten miles, is set apart a certain tract of country for the use of travellers; and as water is above all things needful, these spots are always selected in some valley by the side of a brook or pool of water. On these places, the neighbouring settlers are not allowed to turn their cattle, under a penalty; all comers are free for twenty-four hours, after which time they are expected to make way for others. Around these spots, at all hours of the day, may be seen the different spans of cattle grazing; while near the roadside is the waggon, with the sixteen pairs of yokes extended before it. A little further on, under the shade of some tree or bushes, are the voyagers, cooking their provisions, or stretched on the ground sleeping. If women are of the party, the waggon is set apart for their use, while the men, wrapped in their sheepskins, take the softest place they can find. If a long journey is performed on horseback, the rider generally

has a led horse, which he mounts occasionally. To a European just released from the formal life of great towns, nothing can be more agreeable than to make a journey in a new country in this vagabond, gipsy sort of manner.

A beautiful drive over mountain and intervening plains brought us to Stellenbosch, the first settlement of free colonists from Holland that was established in the colony. I had seen many of the most picturesque villages of old Holland, but none to be compared in snugness and beauty to this. Its streets of irregularly built houses, running at right angles, are lined with magnificent oaks, from which the fat acorns dropped by basketfuls at every gush of wind. The right of gathering these is sold street by street by the municipality, and they are carefully collected by numerous troops of various coloured children, and finally become transformed into excellent pork. Every house has its *stoocp*, or raised porch, in which the inhabitants may be seen drinking their coffee as early as five o'clock in the morning, and chatting with visitors in the evening.

The whole of the district, at the time I visited it, was in a state of the greatest excitement: they were going to have a railway. The good old Dutchmen, the most anti-go-ahead animals in existence, actually thought it possible that a railway passing through their towns and estates might double the value of the property. The conviction was not, however, arrived at without a deal of rousing up by the few energetic men they had about them; but at length it was decided on, the ground surveyed, and labourers were on their way

from England: a year or two will see Cape Town in direct communication with the interior. The completion of this railway will form an epoch in the history of the colony. If since 1800 she has progressed twenty-fold, she will then make prodigious strides both in population and improvement. With steam, new energies will be awakened; the plodding, obstinate, Dutch farmer must change his ways, while the inventive Englishman will find in it a help to carry out his plans, and a remedy for the deficiency of human labour.

As a field for emigration, various are the opinions given by people well acquainted with the colony: I here allude to persons of small property; for labourers, there is always work with good wages. Among the causes which would prevent an Englishman of small property from settling in this colony, are, the unpleasant feeling of the Dutch, and the absolute necessity of speaking the Dutch language. Fortunes are not to be made by farming, but by commerce only, in the ports and larger inland settlements. To a man of small desires, who can realize the words of Pope—

> "Reason's whole pleasure, all the joys of sense,
> Lie in three words, health, peace, and competence—"

the height of his ambition may be found in any of the beautiful spots of which this fine country possesses so many.

CHAPTER III.

Departure from Simon's Bay—Mew Bay—A Tropical Forest—Anger—Batavia—Population—Municipal Police of Malays and Chinese—Stroll by night in Batavia—Gambling—Opium—Revenue from latter—Banca Straits—Tin Mines—Singapore *versus* Batavia—A Buddhist Temple—Mr. Whampoa, a Chinese Merchant—The Human Family at Singapore—A Stroll through Streets; Barbers, Jewel Dealers, Tailors and others—Leave Singapore.

After a stay of six weeks in the Cape Colony, the squadron again set sail for the China Seas. On the forty-second day we reached the Straits of Sunda; but before coming in sight of land were made aware of its vicinity by a number of Birds of Paradise, which hovered around our masts. Sometimes a tangled mass of cocoa-trees and rattans was passed, as, driven by the current, it floated out into the Indian Ocean. The same afternoon we anchored in Mew Bay, at the entrance of the straits.

I was soon ashore with my gun, treading for the first time the intricate ground of a tropical forest. Around the beach thousands of trees had been felled by former visitors, and their trunks and stretching boughs formed impassable barriers along the shore. After forcing my way about half a mile inland, without meeting anything living but monkeys and parrots—which, with their agile movements and discordant noise, were enough to give life to the forest—

I at last came upon a pool of water. Thence I followed for some distance a sort of path, on which the foot sank deep at every step in the damp black earth, and which was obstructed with round holes full of water. At first I took this for a native track, but on examining the ground I saw the unmistakable traces of different sorts of wild beasts; among which were those of a large clawed animal, and of others with small cloven feet resembling those of deer. Recollecting that I was in a land of the rhinoceros and the tiger, I did not care to penetrate any farther, but returned to the boat without disturbing either the monkeys or the parrots, both which seemed to chatter the same language.

A few hours' steaming through the straits brought us to Anger, a village in the Sundas, much frequented by ships for fresh supplies of provisions. On casting anchor we were immediately besieged by Malays bringing fowls, cocoa-nuts, and monkeys. We took in some quantity of the first, which are remarkably cheap (five shillings a dozen) in these islands, the original home of the domestic fowl. Of the last we received on board thirty or forty, but before we reached Batavia, two days later, they had all fallen overboard, and we had a clear ship.

At Anger there is nothing remarkable on shore. The country is flat and marshy; along the shore spread large groves of cocoa-nut trees. About a mile from the village is an obelisk, raised to the memory of an English general (Crawford, I think, was the name), who died during the British occupation of Batavia. There are many Chinese settlers in

Anger; and the stranger on first beholding the Malays of the Sundas, will be struck with their small stature and miserable appearance; their long lank hair streaming in disorder around their faces, and little, in their appearance, to distinguish the sexes. One or two European houses are to be found at Anger, the residences of the Dutch officials; the abodes of the natives are miserable hovels. A line of telegraph wires communicates with Batavia, and gives advice of the arrival of vessels.

Immediately that the anchor was dropped before Batavia, and the customary salutes had been given and returned, I hailed a Malay *sampan*, or boat, and sailed to shore. Passing between the piers, which extend for a mile into the bay, and between which flows the river, we landed at the old port of Batavia. Prior to 1809, when these piers were constructed under the French domination, the river was constantly overflowing its bed, and the malaria thus generated caused a fearful mortality among the inhabitants: even now no European will sleep in the old town if he can help it. New Batavia is about three miles from the port, and a delightful city to spend a short time in. Its houses are spacious buildings, surrounded by park-like gardens; and the hotels, of which there are several, are excellent, containing every luxury which the climate, indolence, or epicureanism require. Crowds of Japanese servants, of silent step, haunt your movements, ready to anticipate or to execute your wishes. The price of living in these hotels is about 7*s*. 6*d*. per day, and carriages may be hired for the same time for a mere trifle.

The Chinese and Malay quarters are apart from that of the Europeans, and the houses are huddled together and very dirty. The Chinese are heavily taxed, and a source of uneasiness to the Government. The Japanese and other Malays seem kept in an excellent state of subjection; none are allowed to be abroad after sunset without carrying a lighted torch, made of cocoa-nut fibre. The same municipal law extends to all the coloured population, including Chinese. Each quarter is under the charge of a native police, and the weapons with which they are armed are most efficient, though primitive. They consist of light poles, having at the extremity a fork-like division, made out of a bush on which the thorns, inclining inward, are left; something like the following sketch :—

With this instrument the policeman catches the evil doer by the back of the neck. If the culprit remains quiet, it does him no injury; but on his attempting to run away the thorns run into the flesh, and, unless he stops instantly, lacerate his neck in a fearful manner. There are also more decisive weapons to back the use of these when necessary.

A ride through the different parts of Batavia by night, offers not one of the least curious scenes to a traveller: the twinkling from the smouldering torches carried by the gliding natives, the tramp of the native patrols, their wild cries at every bridge, the illumined houses of the whites, huge bats fluttering about in all

directions, one after another attract his attention, as, recovering from the relaxation of the day, he wanders about in the European part of the town enjoying the cool of the evening. But if he enters the Chinese quarters he will meet quite a different life; the streets being lit up with lamps, and the air reeking with nauseous odours. The traffic is still great, and business is going on, but business much mixed up with pleasure and with vice. At the gambling tables may be seen Chinese playing at cards or dice, for gold, or for the lowest coin in the currency, unmoved by either their gains or losses. The Chinese are said to be the most desperate gamblers of any people on earth, risking not only their moveable and immovable property, but even their wives or concubines. At the opium shops, which generally adjoin the play stalls, others may be seen sitting on the low tables smoking the drug; and at a little box at the door small parcels are sold, in value from 6*d*. and upwards. The Dutch Government receives annually more than 800,000*l*. revenue from opium alone.

From Batavia we proceeded towards the Banca Straits, passing amid numbers of the low alluvial and thickly wooded islands, which are everywhere dotted over the Java Sea. At the entrance of the straits we cast anchor and fired a gun for a Malay pilot. During the night a boat silently approached the ship, and three Malays came on board. At daybreak perching themselves, after the manner of monkeys, on the davits of the quarter-boats, they were at least a source of amusement to the men, if of no utility to the ship.

The low shores of Sumatra rose emerald green from the water's edge, as far as the horizon, the level only broken by some giant trees which towered above their more humble companions. On the other side, the site of the famous tin mines, among the mountains of the island of Banca, could be distinguished by the great clearings made in the forests. This industry is entirely in the hands of the Chinese, under Dutch supervision, and in 1853 it produced 5,540 tons of metal.*

On the 25th we arrived at Singapore. This settlement forms a remarkable contrast to Batavia; as a resting place for the traveller it is far inferior. There the native races are held in strict subjection; here they do what they like, and are independent even to insolence. Batavia is the chief port of a colony largely producing all sorts of tropical commodities; Singapore is but a depôt, where such commodities are brought for exchange. Yet Singapore, from its position and its unrestricted commerce, bids fair in a few more years to equal, if not to surpass, the city which was founded more than two hundred years before it. As soon as was possible I took up my residence on shore, to examine at leisure this cosmopolis of the east.

On visiting the chief Buddhist temple in Singapore we witnessed a ceremony which takes place every year —that of blessing the junks returning to China with the south-west monsoon. A crowd of lounging Chinese filled the temple, some lying on the floor, some smoking their bamboo pipes, some gnawing sugar-cane, and others engaged in conversation. Respect there was none. Presently twenty or more

* Crawfurd.

bonzes arrived, and commenced divers antics; gongs were beaten, incense smoked, and, as a finale, a huge heap of crackers was exploded before the altar. On this each bonze caught up the image which was next him, and with a hopping step ran across the road to where the boats were waiting to take them on board the junks. I could hardly believe it possible that religion could become debased by man to such an extent as this.

Among the acquaintances I made in Singapore was that of Whampoa, a Chinese merchant. The name of this intelligent and liberal gentleman has lately been much brought before the public of different nations. He told me that, as a child, he accompanied his father, an emigrant from the south of China, to Singapore. This was in 1820, when only a few huts were raised on a small space cleared from the tropical forest, by the banks of that stream, where now stand nearly 5,000 houses, containing a population of upwards of 26,000. Then only a few ships lay in the roads; now more than 800 square-rigged ships and 3,000 junks cast anchor every year, bringing imports to the value of nearly 22,000,000 dollars, and taking away produce to the amount of 17,500,000 dollars, in round numbers.* The fortunes of the two Whampoas increased with that of the colony, and the son is now one of the richest merchants of the place. He owns one or two country seats in the neighbourhood, situated amid groves of nutmeg-trees, and in one of these he entertained a large party of us at dinner. Many of the officers expected a dinner of birds'-nests, sharks' fins,

* Crawfurd.

nenuphar, and other Chinese meats, and were disappointed to find a well-laid English table, and Mr. Whampoa at its head, doing the honours with all the ease of an accustomed host. In a conversation I had with him about China and the Chinese, one remark struck me. He compared his countrymen to a man in a deep hole looking up into the sky, and perceiving only one star, whereas if he came up to the surface of the earth the whole firmament would appear to him. Mr. Whampoa's son is receiving his education in Edinburgh, and he himself expressed his intention of visiting England in a year or two.

Singapore is the best place in the world for seeing in a small space the different races which are generally called Orientals, and their mixed progeny. In like manner it is at Rio Janeiro and Cape Town that the African races may be best observed; and at St. Francisco, the various peoples of Europe. In the town of Singapore, Chinese, Malays, natives of India, and Europeans are found, and this is their numerical order. Parsees, Persians, Arabs, and Siamese, come next. The languages spoken correspond with the races, but the Malay, easily learned, is the common medium of communication.

A stroll through the streets, or a ride in one of the one-horsed carriages of the place, affords both amusement and instruction to the visitor. Chinese vendors of trifles, or keepers of out-door restaurants and cook-shops, ply a busy trade at the corners and in the nooks of the streets. Ensconced under some wall may be seen a barber, shaving the almost naked body of an Oriental, shampooing a Chinaman or picking his ears.

Several squalid-looking mortals wander about the streets, haunting the stores frequented by stranger Europeans. One day, I was standing in Whampoa's store, when one of these persons came up to me, and unfolding a dirty rag, offered me the contents for sale, consisting of several rubies, emeralds, and brilliants, worth, perhaps, many hundred pounds. This man, Whampoa told me, was one of the richest in Singapore, and was a native of India. In one street the tailors' shops are sure to attract the notice of the stranger, for in some as many as fifty Chinese may be seen making up white clothing, their bodies naked to the waist, their tails bound round their heads, and their persons sending forth a strong musky odour. The Sepoy policeman, the Parsee money-changer, the Arab captain, the Siamese sailor, the Chinese small dealer, dandling his baby at the door while his Malay helpmate is performing some menial duty within, will all stay the footstep of the wanderer as he passes through the streets of this settlement, which has the aspect of an everlasting fair. And such, indeed, is Singapore for its soil produces little except spices and fruits. It is a depôt, where the produce and manufactures of China and the Archipelago are bartered for the manufactures and luxuries of Europe.

Our next port, after leaving Singapore, was Manilla, where we arrived on the 13th May.

CHAPTER IV.

Manilla—City of Manilla—Population—"Tributo"—Government—How time is spent in Manilla—The Tagals; their Houses, Dress, Women, Amusements, &c.—A Fête of the Pueblo—Marriage Customs—Music—Cock-fighting—A Cock-Pit—Gambling—Cigar Manufactories—A few Particulars about the Tobacco Cultivation and Manufacture—Produce of the Country—Tagal Manufactures—Commerce—Enterprise—Mines and Minerals—Hong Kong—Unpleasant Circumstance—Shanghai.

The modern city of Manilla is a fortified town at the mouth of the river Pasig, containing about 12,000 inhabitants, chiefly Spaniards and their descendants, and the troops; but the walled city forms only a small portion of what is generally called Manilla. With the suburbs, consisting of several "pueblos," chief among which is Binondo, where the consuls, principal merchants, and foreigners reside, the whole population is not less than 100,000. In the entire group of islands there are about a million of Negritos or Igorroto, still in a savage state, and about four million Tagals and others, under Spanish authority. The Chinese Metis, or descendants of Chinese by native women, number about a quarter of a million, and are easily distinguished, the obliquity of the eye remaining through generations; in fact, Chinese blood is hard to lose, as the saying is. The pure Chinese number about 12,000; the Spanish Metis about

20,000; while the persons of pure Spanish blood are not more than 5,000, including those fresh from the mother country. As this estimate is based upon the "tributo," it is not quite satisfactory, for false returns are sure to be made to avoid payment. This "tributo," and the monopolies of tobacco and distillation, are the chief sources of the revenue of the colony, much of which is drained from it by the mother country. The "tributo" of the native population is 1¾ Spanish dollars; of Spanish or Chinese Metis, 3 dollars; and of pure Chinese, 6¾ dollars, per annum.

The government of the colony is entrusted to a governor and sub-governor. There are very few European troops, though the officers of all grades are Spaniards. The native soldiery consists of five regiments of infantry, one of artillery, and one of cavalry; altogether, 8,000 men, with about the same number of militia. There is also a small naval flotilla for local purposes, of which the head-quarters is at Cavili, a fortified place a few miles from Manilla, towards the sea. But the well-being of the colony seems to be preserved more by the pastoral crook of the Church than by the sword of the governor.

Our stay in Manilla being so short, there was no possibility of making a journey into the country, or going up the Pasig to the Lake of Bay, to visit the plantations of Jala Jala, formerly the property of M. Gironnière, whose romantic book, *Vingt Ans aux Philippines*, though read with astonishment in Europe, is laughed at near the spot where its scenes are laid.

During the few days I spent in Manilla I took up my quarters in a hotel, of which there are two or three in

the suburbs of Binondo; but there was little comfort in these, which are very different from the hotels in Batavia or even in Singapore. Their badness, however, speaks much for the general hospitality of the Spaniards and foreign residents, whose houses are open to all visitors furnished with letters of introduction, or who are known by their name or station to be respectable. We nevertheless preferred a hotel, because it left us free to spend every day as we liked; either driving about the beautiful environs of Manilla in a brilocho, or open carriage of the country, drawn by two small horses of the race which is common to the whole Indo-Chinese Archipelago; visiting the different pueblos, native houses, cock-fights, processions, masses, &c.; or rowing about on the Pasig in a "banca," among swarms of ducks, naked people, and boats moving to and from the city. In the evening came the usual drive up and down the "Playa," or beach-road, which fronts the town, and which is the general promenade of all Manilla after the heat of the day. There were generally to be seen the carriages of the governor and bishop, each with four horses; brilochos, filled with Spanish ladies in mantillas; proud-looking, voluptuous Creoles; picturesque "Metises," accompanied by Spanish cavaliers; and dark-looking half-breeds, puffing cigarettes or chewing betel. A band of native musicians executed pieces from popular composers; soft words were spoken, intrigues were begun, continued, or brought to a close, while the sun sank behind the distant mountains of Merivedis; and soon carriage after carriage disappeared, bearing their burdens to the tertulias, or

evening parties, which generally close the listless day of a Spaniard or Creole in Manilla. At 11 P.M. the gates of the city are closed for the night.

By far the most interesting portion of the population are the Indians, as the Tagals are called, the Metis and other mixtures. Like all other Indo-Polynesian peoples, the Tagals are idle, careless of all except pleasure, good-natured, loving money without the trouble of working for it, insincere, superstitious, great gamblers, vain and cunning: those about Manilla are the worst specimens. The houses of the Tagals are small bamboo constructions raised on piles; the interior being covered with mats, on which the whole family sleep under a mosquito curtain. Utensils are few; but a Virgin, a crucifix, and a cock, have always a place of honour. The wants of the inmates are easily supplied; their superfluous wealth goes in card-playing and cock-fighting, and their greatest riches are carried about either on their backs, or under their arms in the form of a game cock. The better class of Tagals, and most of the half-breeds, have dwellings of a more solid construction, but even these have little furniture.

The dress of the men is a pair of trowsers with a shirt worn outside them; the former of striped silk or cotton, and the latter of calico, grass cloth, or pina, generally richly embroidered at the bosom. The dandies among them have many little accessories; such as a fine stitched pina handkerchief, a silk cravat, and a hat made of fine bark, nearly equalling in strength and flexibility those hats known by the name of Panamas. Such a costume will cost ten times as much as a European dress, besides the gold and silver

ornaments which almost every Indian wears. But their dress, like everything else they possess, often changes hands, owing to their ineradicable habit of gambling.

The Tagal women wear a petticoat of striped silk, pina, or cotton, according to their means; and a sort of chemise made of a very transparent stuff, either nipa, pina, or a mixture of these materials, with long sleeves open under the arms: this is also striped, richly embroidered, and, when confined round the waist by a sash, generally betrays a full and well-formed bust. They bind their long black hair into a thick knot at the back of the head, and stick trinkets in it, having first washed it with the juice of the bergamot orange, and then anointed it with cocoa-nut oil in which the fragrant flowers of the Sampaguita have been boiled. They also rub their bodies with this mixture, called by them *lañis oleroso*. Like all Indian women, they are passionately fond of flowers, and wreath themselves coronets from the many beautiful flowers which carpet their fields, especially one, the sweet-smelling Tchampara. The little feet of the women are unfettered with shoes or stockings; all they wear is their tiny toe-slippers, or "chenillas" of coloured velvet, worked with silk, gold or silver thread, and lined with red silk. They have also a habit of polishing their heels and tinging them with carmine, as they do their fingers also. Taken altogether a Tagal woman, when dressed in her manner, has a very agreeable appearance, as she moves coquettishly along with an undulating swing of the body, or dances the national or Spanish dances.

The Tagals are personally very clean; those who are

rich enough, and live near the river, have a small bathing house of bamboo in the water to which the family retire, and where intimate acquaintances can join them. Here, clad in a dress appropriate to the occasion, they smoke their cigarettes, eat their bonbons, and luxuriate in the cool element. Those who do not possess such a bathing house, take their swim in the most convenient part of the nearest river. The Spaniards, and the Hijos de pais, as the pure descendants of Spaniards are called, follow the same custom, as in fact they do many other of the easy habits of the natives, which soon grow upon them.

The chief food of the Tagals is rice boiled dry; pansit, a sort of vermicelli made from rice; the dried flesh of deer or buffaloes, and fish. The lower orders sit on the ground and eat with their fingers; those who have any pretension to polite manners, sit at tables, but still use their fingers more than forks or spoons: a "bocadito" or choice morsel, offered you with the fingers, must be considered a great compliment. In the midst of a repast, even in families of the better class, a cigarette or chew of betel is indulged in often. They are a sober people; the chief intoxicating drink used is a wine made from the cocoa-palm; they consume, besides, great quantities of cooling drinks made from different fruits. Hospitality is a common virtue, and it is often carried to excess, especially when a Tagal has the honour to entertain a stranger: as I witnessed on several occasions.

On the occasion of the fêtes of the patron saints of the "pueblos," which adjoin Manilla, two of which occurred during our stay, the whole afternoon was

spent in the marching of a long religious procession through all the streets of the pueblo. This was made as imposing as possible by an array of priests, white and brown, in their gorgeous robes, bands of military music, all the civil authorities, and lines of devotees bearing lighted tapers. Among the number were many long-tailed Celestials, Christians *pro tem.* In the evening the feasting and gaiety commenced, and nearly all the houses of the pueblo were illuminated. We entered several houses, and were received with the greatest joy; in one house, that of the alcalde, I soon found myself promenading with the daughter of the host, and trying to make her understand the two or three words of pure Castilian I knew, mingled with much bastard Latin, which, though it did not serve the purpose intended, had at least a mirth-producing effect. The gentle niña meanwhile took pleasure in presenting me with cigars, cigarettes, and choice sweetmeats, and finally, spread a betel leaf with lime, wrapped up in it a piece of areca nut, clipped and formed the whole into a neat morsel and persuaded me to have a chew. The feasting, dancing, and music were kept up until midnight; fresh friends kept coming and going, evidently making a round of visits, and all was light-heartedness, affability, and enjoyment. I heard afterwards, that however much the natives like to entertain foreigners, they detest the Spaniards, and the presence of one at their parties immediately throws a restraint and iciness over all the guests.

Notwithstanding that it is already three hundred years since Christianity was introduced among the Tagals, they still retain much of their old superstition

and loose habit of living. That irregular intercourse of the sexes, especially, which, as missionaries tell, is the prevailing vice among their converts in the Islands of the Pacific, has not been, and apparently cannot be, eradicated in these islands. Constancy has little part in the native character, and bigamy, to the third or fourth degree, is a common occurrence, so that the law has provided that no couple can be joined without producing papers signed by the alcalde of their parish, to testify that each is free; but either because they are too poor to pay the fee, or too lazy to take the trouble, great numbers overlook the ceremony altogether. Connections between foreigners and native women are also common, and considered honourable by the latter. It is a habit among them for the swain to work for his future father-in-law, and earn his intended by a certain period of labour, as the Hebrew patriarchs were sometimes constrained to do; and it often happens to the poor youth, as happened of old to Jacob, that the cruel father-in-law refuses his consent at the end of the term fixed: although, by that time, the bridegroom may have little left to desire unless it be the strengthening of their union before the priest. The girl, in such cases, can leave her father, and throw herself upon the protection of the law, which, if the man has served the stipulated term, orders the immediate celebration of the marriage. This old custom keeps its ground still, in spite of many attempts of the priests and the Government to put a stop to it.

Among the amusements of the natives may be numbered theatrical performances in bamboo theatres, in

which devils, fairies, and other supernaturals play a great part. Musical by nature, they have copied much from the Spaniards; and the manner in which the native military bands play pieces of celebrated European composers would merit approbation in any country. The favourite instrument among the people is a bandoline with metal strings, on which they play with a piece of bamboo, or they let the finger-nails grow long for that purpose. Gambling is their delight, but cock-fighting is a madness, for it combines sport (so called) with ruinous gambling.

In a Tagal pueblo, on a holiday, the spectator may see seven-eighths of the male population with cocks under their arms; and in the court of the church he may see dozens more pegged down, while their owners are performing their devotions within, and putting up a short supplication for good luck. A stream of people in striped clothing of many colours, is setting in one direction, which the stranger will most likely follow, as I did, on a certain fête day, through the pueblo of Santa Cruz, adjoining Manilla.

The neighbourhood of the cock theatre was a busy scene of Tagals and Chinese: stalls and locomotive trays, where cocoa-wine, cigars, gingerbread, pansit, fruits, and sweetmeats were sold; cocks of all sizes and plumage carried under the owners' arms, or held before the beak of some rival, or confined by a peg stuck in the ground; the shouts of the Chinese vendors; the labial hubbub of the Indians; the crowing of a hundred shrill cocks; heat, dust, odours, nauseous or savoury, composed of palm-oil, musk, seething fat, and tobacco;—such were a few of the phenomena

which occupied three of my senses, and made not a very delightful impression on a fourth. The building was of bamboo poles, on a foundation of palm stems, about sixty feet high, having a roof with lids like a box, to admit the light full on the operations below. Inside was a round platform about five feet from the ground, encircled with a railing of bamboo. The spectators were in the space between, their heads on a level with the platform, the stage of operations; but we, as strangers, were admitted to the platform, and furnished with chairs. Besides ourselves there were on the platform a Government inspector to settle disputes, the proprietors of the gallery, and police; the owners of cocks were admitted when wanted. Hundreds of natives were peeping from the outside, their eyes being on a level with the stage; arms were thrust through the bars, and money was thrown in the ring as they eagerly betted.

The bets being arranged for one fight, the owners of the birds commenced by swinging them backwards and forwards till their beaks touched; when a proper degree of irritation was produced, the spurs were unsheathed, and with ruffled necks the combat began. It was generally of short duration, the sharp steel spurs, or rather blades, two inches in length, disabling one or the other bird at the first well-aimed attack. The victor then took up his cock and his money; the vanquished his dead or wounded bird, and sneaked out to dress its wounds, while another couple continued the sport. In about half an hour, I saw about fifteen couple contend. Sometimes both birds were killed; at another time one turned coward and ran away, and of

course lost, and was well hissed. In one instance, after a well-contested fight of about a minute, one of the combatants being prostrated, his rival began to crow his victory and the owners were hastening to take up their birds, when the prostrate bird, fired by the contemptuous crow of his enemy, sprang up, chased the other round the ring, pierced him by a well-directed spring, and was greeted with shouts of joy from all the gazers. The cocks were of all sizes, but the result seemed to depend more on their agility and training than their size: there is a small species found wild in the forests, which is much prized for its pluck and fierceness. I saw several hundred dollars change hands during this half-hour; the proprietor deducted a portion for himself, and paid the balance to the winners, the owner of course always backing his own bird. Such is a picture of the cruel amusement of cock-fighting, so common not only in the Philippines, but all over the Archipelago. Apart from its brutality, it has a degrading effect on native character: a cock is treated better than a wife; labour or talents are only exercised to provide the means to indulge the passion, and cheating and pilfering are the natural results.

The largest of the cigar manufactories of Manilla is in the suburb of Binondo, and affords occupation to 4,000 women, and half that number of males. In this and other Government manufactories in the neighbourhood, there are altogether 7,000 men and 9,000 women employed. On entering the first portion of the building the ear is assailed by an almost deafening noise, caused by some hundreds of women seated on the floor and hammering the leaves on a stone or block

with a mallet, to polish them for outsides. These women form a motley group, some being half naked, others in rags, many in gay colours, and a few dressed with care and neatness. Among them were several whose personal appearance was prepossessing, but on the whole I judged that beauty found a more profitable occupation than making cigars for a few cents a day.

Tobacco was introduced by the Spanish Government from the New World. It first became a monopoly in 1781, and the income derived from it from that year until 1840, amounted to 28,827,450 dollars. The present yearly profit averages about one million and a quarter of dollars. The strictest measures are adopted during the time of its harvest to prevent any infraction of the monopoly, and the gathering is presided over by officers sent on purpose. The leaves are first placed under cover, in heaps, to ferment; then sorted by women into five classes according to their size, and suspended in a current of air to dry. Each packet thus sorted contains ten leaves, and is called a "palilo;" ten such make a "mano," and thirty mano a "farda," weighing from seventy to seventy-five pounds. The tobacco is of three qualities, the first being paid for at the rate of 8¾ dollars per farda; the second 7½, and the third 5 dollars. This is about 6½*d.* English money per pound for the first quality; manufactured in cigars it is sold at the Government depôt for 1¼ dollar, or more than 5*s.*

All this tobacco is sent up under an escort to the different factories around Manilla. Women, called Dobladores, then wet it with water, or sometimes rum

and vinegar, and make it up into rough cigars, which are finished by the Celladores, as the girls are called; the refuse is made up into cigarettes. Most of the cigars are packed in cases of 500, numbering from one to four, according to size; they are sold at the rates of 14, 10, 8, 6 dollars per thousand, the better sorts being in boxes of 125 each. On the whole, very little care is taken in the manufacture; the tobacco is of good flavour, but carelessly made up, and in the cases which we received on board, many cigars were disgusting from the odour and taste of palm oil, or other grease with which the work girls are accustomed to rub their bodies. Nearly the whole of the population, men, women, and children smoke, and quantities of leaves are exported to Spain.

Among the other products of the country, may be briefly mentioned rice, largely exported to China, and received there free of duty. Sugar-cane is largely grown; coffee is almost wild, and the Government has given prizes for its cultivation to those who possess plantations of 7,000 square yards. Cacao, beans, indigo, silk, and cotton are also produced. The cocoa palm, and the bamboo, those bounteous offerings of Nature to man in an infant or savage state, are here found in great abundance; and pages might be filled with the list of the almost innumerable articles they furnish him with in return for the slightest labour.

There are a few specialities of nature or art in these islands which deserve to be named. The "abaca" is a species of banana (*Musa textilis*), from the finer filaments of which, mixed with silk, most of the native clothing is made; while the coarser sort, commonly

known as Manilla hemp, is largely exported, both raw and made into rope. The pinâ, or pine-apple leaf, produces a fibre so airy and fine that its weaving must be carried on under water, as some say, or under a net, as the least current of air will break it; and yet when the kerchiefs made from it leave the hands of the Tagal work-girl they are heavy with embroidery: the prices of these vary from 20 to 2,000 francs, and even higher. More solid fibres of the same plant are made into dress pieces, which are eagerly sought for by all visitors to Manilla, and must rejoice the hearts of the fair ones at home for whom they are intended. Mats made from strips of bamboo, and from the leaves of several trees, are used for various purposes, such as boat sails, carpets, or beds. The finely-woven hats and cigar-cases of Manilla are world-renowned, but they cannot be compared to the similar productions of Panama.

A tolerably large trade is carried on between the Philippines and the islands of the Sooloo group, chiefly by the Chinese, and consists in the exchange of European manufactured goods for birds' nests, tortoise-shell, biche-de-mer, or dried sea slugs, shark fins, deer sinews, and pearls, all of which are re-exported for the Chinese market.

The Philippine group presents a most unfavourable contrast with the other colonies, English or Dutch, of the Indo-Chinese Archipelago. Not a steamboat is seen plying between its different ports, on the Pasig, or on the vast Lake of Bay. Agriculture is everywhere neglected, the natives being careless and lazy, and foreigners being more addicted to other

enterprises. The greater part of the foreign trade is in their hands, since the expiration of the charter of the Philippine Company in 1834. A few of them have plantations of sugar and coffee on the shores of the Lake of Bay.

Yet in no country in the world has Nature more showered those bounties which are requisite for man's necessities or comfort. The climate is varied, according to altitude, from tropical heat to a fresh and temperate atmosphere. The soil is of singular fertility, producing in abundance every sort of corn, fruit, or flower. Its mineral wealth will no doubt be found enormous: gold is washed in many of the provinces by the natives, who use the dust as money for purchases and for gambling; and when gold is present in the sands of the streams, rich ore must exist near their sources in the mountains. Coal, I heard, had been found in many parts, of good quality, but too expensive in the working to compete with ship coal from Europe. Iron ore is found in abundance, rich, and easily worked; but, except a mine or two worked by Chinese, it is neglected. Rich specimens of copper ore have been found, and there is every reason to believe that, in every class of mineral wealth, this group will be found to rival the neighbouring one of Japan, which it resembles in its geological formation.

In the vast forests of the interior, whose intricate wastes have rarely been trodden by civilized man, may be found magnificent timber for building, dye-woods, trees producing gums, balms, oils, and varnishes, and others whose trunks are filled with honey and wax. Many species, as yet only known by the

name given to them by the savage, are awaiting a classical nomenclature from the botanist. The forest and the plain teem with animal life; the rivers, lakes, and surrounding sea swarm with fish. Nature has done all she could, man but little to utilize her gifts.

From the Philippine islands we steamed to Hong Kong, and anchored before the settlement on the anniversary of the Queen's birthday, at 11 A.M.

All the ships in harbour were dressed out with flags, and as soon as the usual salutes and visits had been made, the two Russian corvettes were also dressed. At noon salutes in honour of the occasion were fired from all the English and other ships of war, with the exception of the Russian. This led to much unpleasant feeling at the time, and after our departure an article was inserted in the Hong Kong newspaper not only most insulting to the Russian Commodore, but also distorting all the circumstances, inasmuch as it declared that no notice whatever had been taken of the occasion, and that the Russian Commodore had failed in courtesy towards the English Admiral, by not informing him of his intended departure. The truth is that, with the exception of the salutes, the customary honours were paid, and that notice of the Commodore's departure on the morrow was given by him to the English Admiral—a fact which the writer of the article might be well supposed not to know.

Why the salutes were not given is easily explained. Owing to some stupid misunderstanding while the squadron was at Portsmouth, an order had been given in the Russian service that for every salute given under

any circumstances a similar salute should be demanded in return. When the English flag officer came on board the *Rynda* at Hong Kong, and invited a participation in the general salute, the question was put, "Would the compliment be returned?" The answer of the English flag officer was "No." "Then the Russians must decline joining in the salute." And no salute was fired. However absurd an order may be, requiring a return salute to one which is given by vessels of all nations at the same moment in celebrating any national event, yet, as it was an order, no commander should be insulted for not following it.* Firing salutes is altogether a great absurdity; and if return compliments on such occasions were insisted upon, there would be no end to the booming of guns, and the exchange of civilities would be as tedious as that of two Japanese officials, who never know when to leave off their mutual compliments. Far better would it be for ships of war entering foreign ports simply to lower their flag as a salutation, and to receive a like compliment in return, instead of uselessly burning much powder and frightening timid old ladies on shore half out of their wits.

On the morrow I accompanied the Russian Commodore in the gunboat to Shanghai, the two corvettes remaining at Hong Kong, to follow us in a few days, and meet us in Nangasaki. Although by this time the south-west monsoon ought to have blown with force, we had nothing but calms, and light, contrary winds, accompanied by thick fog, so that we did not arrive at the mouth of the Yang-tse-kiang until the 2nd of

* This order has since been cancelled in the Russian service.

June. Just at the mouth of this vast river is the large alluvial island of Tsung-ming, which was below water three centuries ago, and now contains upwards of half-a-million of inhabitants. After remaining a day at the village of Wusung, we steamed up to Shanghai, and anchored just below the English settlement.

The two or three days we passed in Shanghai were spent in wandering about the old walled city, examining the shops, and observing the different occupations and habits of the people. But this place has been so often and ably described, that I could but repeat the words of others. What struck me most in my rambles were several Chinese undergoing public punishment in the streets, their necks fixed in the *kia* or *cangue*, a large wooden frame weighing many pounds. I remarked also a naked, headless trunk rolling in a ditch outside the town, and a trunkless head fixed on a gateway within.

CHAPTER V.

Leave Shanghai—Approach to Nangasaki—Fishing Boats—Visit of Sub-Governor on board—Questions and Curiosity—The Russian frigate *Ascolde*—A Buddhist Temple—Life in Japan—Treatment of Japanese by Foreigners—Popularity of Russians—The Bonzes, and their troubles—Language—Capability of Japanese in learning—Nangasaki; its Temples, Tea Houses, &c.—Contrast with former visitors—Inhabitants—Foreign Commerce in 1859—Exports—Porcelain—The Tea Houses and Gardens; their Inmates and Visitors—Photographing—A Comical Scene and a Japanese Custom—Dezima; Honesty of Japanese—Departure.

We left Shanghai on the 7th June, at four o'clock, and anchored for the night in the Yang Kiang, below Wusung. An English ship with troops on board passed us going to Shanghai, no doubt to join the admiral prior to his visit to the Peiho river for the finishing of the treaty. We dropped flags to each other, and exchanged distant salutes with the officers on her poop.

Our pilot quitted us at Gutzlaff Island, and we had to work up against N.E. winds to Nangasaki. The weather was abominable; constant rains, mist, and the impossibility of getting an observation rendered the voyage very tedious. On the evening of the 12th we passed close to an island, supposed to be one of the outstanding Japanese islands, and the next morning the sight of Cape Goto enabled us to steer directly for the harbour of Nangasaki. The whole of

that evening, in spite of the rain, all the officers were on deck, their eyes bent on the dark mountain range before them, anxious to arrive in the mysterious land so long a marvel to the rest of the civilized world. The commodore, captain, and master, enveloped in their thick leather coats, were peering into the gloom, or now and then consulting the chart of the coast by the light of the ship's lantern. Presently a faint light was seen ahead; then one after another some four or five hundred flaming torches, fixed over the sterns of as many fishing craft, came in view. It was a beautiful sight, those lights against the dark mountains, forming a half circle round the bay, and extending as far as the eye could reach along the coast. As their glimmer became starlike and less, it reminded me of former days, when passing at night by Brighton, or some other bathing town of the south coast of England. Every few minutes blue lights were shown from some conspicuous part of the ship, and on rounding a point two blue specks in the distance, shown by our consorts, guided us up to an anchorage. The *Rynda* and *Gredin*, after a splendid passage of seven days from Hong Kong, had already been in Nangasaki nine days, and her officers had seen almost all that was to be seen in the place. They had been visited by the officials, who brought off a pig and baskets of vegetables and fruit as an offering; had visited and received the visit of the Governor; had dined with him, and had their dessert sent after them on board, according to Japanese étiquette—all which was to be enacted anew for the commodore and for us on the morrow.

The night of our arrival I remained on board the little vessel which, for a month past, had been my home. At eight o'clock next morning, two or three boats came alongside, and from them issued the third officer in command of the place, accompanied by two others, an interpreter, and several subordinates, who were all ushered into the captain's cabin, where they took their seats in true European manner. Books were opened, questions were put by the chief officer through the interpreter, answered through him, and consigned to the book. Most of these questions were ordinary port ones; to a few, such as "How long do you intend to stay?" "What do you come here for?" the captain gave the old answers,—Wood and provisions, to pay his respects to the Governor, &c. The head officer, a fine stout man of about fifty, next inquired when the commodore would call on the governor, and how many persons would accompany him; whereupon the captain referred him to the commodore himself. Meanwhile tea and sweet cakes had been introduced, cigars and pipes were lighted, and a general conversation ensued. I should have imagined that these officers had had opportunities enough of gratifying their curiosity, yet their inquisitiveness was unbounded, and I, at length, became its object. I had been conversing with the captain in English and French, and had noticed the curiosity with which the officials regarded me, till the question was put, Was I a Russian, and why I did not wear a uniform? The captain answered for me that I belonged to the commodore's ship; but their suspicions were not allayed, and they evidently were puzzled about my

nationality. It was the same wherever I went in the town. Whether these intelligent people noticed the difficulty with which I spoke Russian, or my speaking French and English, not a day passed but the same question was put to me several times. Some curaçao and other sweet liqueurs presented *à propos* to our visitors caused a change in the conversation, and when they took their leave it was with a warm shake of the hand all round, and a wish expressed to meet again. They then went on board the *Rynda*, where a repetition of the same questions and ceremonies took place.

The Russian frigate *Ascolde* was lying under repair in a cove opposite our anchorage, where she had been already eight months, having been almost lost in a typhoon in September 1858, when returning from Japan. This occurred between Van Diemen's Straits and Shanghai: a fact to be noticed, as it is stated that such storms are seldom or never met with so far north as the latter place. She lost fore and main-top masts, besides being so strained that every knee in the ship had to be replaced. As soon as the weather moderated, she rigged jury masts, and having experienced tolerably fine weather afterwards, reached Shanghai in a most pitiable state, whence she came up to Nangasaki. Her officers were housed in a Buddhist temple opposite the town, while barracks were erected close by for the men. Thither I proceeded, as soon as possible, to pay a visit to the officers; and as long as our vessels remained, I was almost entirely a guest among those gentlemanly and amiable men.

The temple which they inhabited was a curious old

building, ornamented with grotesque carvings in stone and wood of the various beings, earthly or unearthly, which Buddhism has consecrated. After climbing the steep and muddy path which led from the landing place, a sight of the Russian flag directed us to our destination. On one side of the gate stood a Russian sentry, on the other, in a box-like house, sat on their mats the two or three policemen appointed as spies or watchmen. The sailors were comfortably housed in two large wooden buildings, erected for them by the Japanese, while the captain and officers were located in the temple itself, and the priests were confined to a centre building or sanctuary.

The *Ascolde*, bearing the flag of Admiral Putiatin, a name well known in these seas, as also that of her captain, now admiral, M. Unkofsky, had only a few months before been at the Peiho and at Yedo for the ratification of the two treaties. M. Unkofsky had commanded the *Pallas* in 1854, and a map of the coast of Corea will show the names of himself, and nearly all his officers marked on the various capes and gulfs of that peninsula. Many of the officers had served during the war in these seas; some in the *Aurora*, others in the unfortunate *Diana;* one or two had been prisoners to the English, and all had something interesting of the campaign, to make the hours grow late over the mess table. They seemed to live, all of them, a very jolly life in this old temple. Plentifully supplied with all the necessaries and luxuries of life from Shanghai, they had formed quite a little farm about them, and oxen, sheep, and pigs, were slaughtered: much to the disgust, no doubt, of their shaven

hosts. They had made themselves quite at home; many had formed liaisons with some pretty Japanese women, and had their own menage in the town. Nearly all spoke Japanese sufficient to make themselves understood; a few had made such progress as to speak with facility, and even to write and read.

To this they were, in a measure, indebted for their popularity among the people, but especially because they were very observant of their customs, and careful not to offend their little scruples. I saw one or two instances of men speaking the English language, entering the clean, mat-spread rooms of the Japanese, in their dirty boots, in spite of the protestations by words and signs, and the looks of despair of the owners. To shout at and abuse the people, tiresome and procrastinating though they be, is ill calculated on the part of foreigners to gain their willing services; yet I witnessed many instances of such violations of civility during my stay in Nangasaki. I wish my countrymen and Americans would remember, that to treat the people of Japan, with whom they may have to do, as they would a Hindoo servant or a Chinese cooley, will be the very worst manner of having their wants or wishes attended to. On the other hand, kindness and attention not to violate their prejudices, and, if possible, to enter into their social life, will be the best method of having everything that may be required. This was the way in which the Russians, during their stay of nine months in Nangasaki, contrived to gain the affections, not only of the people, but of the higher authorities. Captain Unkofsky, and through him, his

officers, had only to express a wish to have it satisfied, where it was possible; his name was known for miles around, and called aloud to us in the streets as we passed. The officers in their walks through the town, were surrounded by laughing children, backed by a circle of pretty girls, with the men peering over their shoulders. One officer especially, Prince Ouktomsky, the grand duke's aide-de-camp, knew, I think, all the children of Nangasaki, for they would crowd round him, shake him by the hand, and in their gentle, pretty little way, talk to him till he arrived at his destination.

All the trading classes in Japan are considered contemptible by the higher authorities, government employés, and feudal retainers. Formerly few or no Russian traders had ever come to Japan, while numbers of English, American, and Dutch had at different times touched at their ports. This circumstance has given the Japanese a high idea of Russia, and a great respect for its officers; which prestige, of course, the latter endeavour to support. Such was the explanation given me by an intelligent Japanese, an officer of the Government at Nangasaki.

The finest buildings in Nangasaki are the temples, and then, with one or two exceptions, undoubtedly the tea houses. These temples are situated in the most beautiful sites of the beautiful environs of Nangasaki, surrounded with trees and gardens, which in great measure supply the food of the bonzes; and here these shaven-headed and often portly gentlemen seem to lead a very easy life. One was always on duty at our temple for four hours at a time,

reciting prayers continually to a sing-song tune, and beating time upon a gong placed by his side.* Whenever I paid a visit to the barrack temple, there was always one or another of them thus praying. But the evening seemed to be their season of recreation, for then the saki flowed, and the childish laughter of the women might be heard from within as they helped the reverend fathers to kill time. Poor bonzes! this irruption of barbarians at the different ports has caused them to be put to sad inconvenience. They are turned out of their homes to make way for the strangers; if a consul comes he has a temple; hospital, bazaar, or barracks, all are found in the temple. They are the more incommoded because they cannot follow their usual habits under the eye of strangers. In Nangasaki, however, they became accustomed to the Russians, and after a short time threw off restraint and acted in their usual way.

The head bonze of this temple was a fine old man, and made himself very useful to the officers in many ways, especially in helping them to acquire the language. He took great trouble with me during two or three days, to teach me a few hundred of the most common words, and wrote me a long vocabulary, to which I put the English sounds, as he pronounced them in Japanese. Then it was I first remarked the richness and precision of the Russian language in consonant sounds. There are many in the Japanese

* The Buddhist ritual is in the Pali language, literally copied out in Chinese, Japanese, Mongolian, or other character, according to the language of the country. The priest reads off the words, without understanding the sense. The beating of the gong is supposed to arouse the attention of the god.

language which no one Latin or Saxon consonant can express, while the Russian character gives the exact pronunciation. While I waited one day at the custom-house for a boat, an officer begged me to pronounce certain English words, of which he had the sounds before him written in Japanese character. One which puzzled him the most was the word *stop*. They had no Japanese character to express the final consonant *p*, but made two syllables out of the word—*sto-pee*. When I had practised him in the sound of the word, he was unbounded in his thanks. Some of the officials whom I met in Japan had acquired one or two European languages merely from visiting English, American, or other ships, learning a few words at a time in their intercourse with officers and men, and carefully noting down such words in Japanese for future use. In Kanagawa and Hakodadi many of the shopkeepers had learned so much Russian as to make themselves intelligible to the Russian sailors.

Crossing the bay in one of the simple yet swift boats of the country,* propelled by oars from one to half a dozen in number, we reached the broken flight of steps near which are situated the custom-house and the other admiralty buildings. It was at these steps that the landing of Europeans for years past took place, when they came to spy out the land; but the captains of men of war, yea, ambassadors and their suites, when once on shore, found themselves sur-

* The boats in Japan are formed of five planks, one for the flat bottom, and two on either side. The prows are sharp, and the sterns broad, partly open, with two small beams projecting on either side.

rounded by a police—guards of honour, said the Japanese—to protect their honoured guests, and prevent their being annoyed by the too great curiosity of the people. Their short walk was only to the governor's house and back again to those steps. A few words with an interpreter; a glimpse of the people; the pleasure of seeing the Japanese governor and his officers smoke their miniature pipes, and drink their tasteless tea, and all was over for the traveller in those days. Things are changed now. A foreigner is as free to go where he likes in Nangasaki as at Shanghai; he may visit temples and houses, and wander anywhere in the neighbourhood within the prescribed distance, without an escort of spies; if troubled at all it is only by the pertinacious curiosity of the people. The weather, however, during the month of June was so abominable that I had little wish to attempt any excursions; the south-west monsoon had brought up the rain, and day and night the leaden sky poured down its ceaseless torrents, and soon rendered any way but the paved streets impassable.

Everything, however, is so stereotyped in Japan, that one description suffices for the whole empire. The towns, houses, dress of both sexes, and manner of living will be described, therefore, in different parts of the book, as occasion may require. It must be remarked that Nangasaki has the most foreign, mixed, and changing population of the whole country. Natives from all parts of the country visit it from curiosity, and for traffic. Some forty or fifty ships of different nations, between which and Japan treaties had been made, were in the port, waiting for, or rather fore-

stalling, the opening of the trade on the 1st of July. Despite the threat from the home government, that they must abide the consequences of the illegality of trading before the time fixed, the agents of English houses had long ago made matters right with the governor of Nangasaki, had disposed of their cargoes, and taken others in return to realize 400 or 500 per cent. in Shanghai and Hong Kong. This rate of gain, I heard from the chief agent of a well-known China firm, had been realized on seaweed cargoes alone. The great difficulty, however, to the free carrying on of commerce was in the monetary exchange. The circulating medium was at this time paper, called *taels*, of which 4·65 went to the Mexican dollar. The natives were prohibited from taking foreign specie, as I was several times made to understand by pantomimic signs of losing their heads or being well bambooed when I offered them coin to pay for any purchases. Those merchants, therefore, who could obtain a sufficient supply of paper money were enabled to buy their cargoes, and immense sums of money were, no doubt, made by them in the first days of the trade. Wax, camphor, seaweed were the chief cargoes: copper was still the monopoly of the Dutch alone; but on the expiration of their term, all copper would, I heard, be submitted to public auction. The Russian officers informed me that, on their arrival eight months before, the prices of all things had been less than one-half of what they were in the month of June, and even then they were increasing. And yet Nangasaki is much cheaper than any other place I visited in Japan, infinitely more so than Yedo. The manu-

facture of lacquered articles is carried on to a great extent, but they are much inferior in richness and beauty to the manufactures of Miako and Yedo. The porcelain is certainly the best in the empire, superior to any I saw afterwards in Yedo, both in the fineness of the clay and in design; it is as thin as a wafer, beautifully transparent, and nowhere else to be found but in Nangasaki.*

The tea-houses are situated in the upper part of the town, and confined to one or two streets. Some few are placed in gardens, laid out in Japanese style, with rocks, pools of water, mountains in miniature, dwarf cedars, and large shrubs of Camelia Japonica. The entrance to them is generally through a large gateway, inside which the first thing seen is the kitchen; on either side of this are raised platforms covered with mats, which form the saloons by day, and the chambers by night of the different inmates. At night the whole space is partitioned off by small folding screens, five or six feet high; or, as often may be seen, the different couples lie stretched on their mattresses promiscuously over the floor, half concealed only by a coarse green mosquito curtain. The second story is generally reserved for the better sort of visitors, and lately, since the buildings have been open to Europeans, for their use. The three principal tea-houses are called Kadonchekudoya, Kagetsuro, and Sinchekudoya. Some of the women in these houses are the prettiest in Japan, and in a few may be detected

* The clay brought up by the anchors and cables in the bay of Nangasaki is a gray, smooth, fine marl, and from this is manufactured that beautiful ware, called *egg-shell china* in England.

descent from a European father. Formerly, during the Dutch bondage in Desima, all women about to become mothers by Europeans were forced to leave the island, and the father was not allowed to have any control in the bringing up of the child, which was generally destined, if a girl, to be brought up in one of these tea-houses. These poor girls are simple, modest in their demeanour, and would, if they could, be honest and faithful to one. They must not be judged by the same standard and measure as the fallen ones of European lands: it is their misfortune, not their fault. Received when children of tender age into these houses, they are carefully and even kindly brought up; care is bestowed on their education; they are taught to sing, to play the mandoliné, to embroider, and so forth: but their fate must be accomplished. Arrived at a nubile age, and often before, they are given over to some satyr of a Japanese, and thenceforth they form part of the establishment. Often they may be seen, dressed out in their best, in scarlet and gold embroidery, their beautiful black hair decorated with flowers, toddling with their shuffling gait to the house of some official, to whom they have been ordered beforehand, to join the revel and its licentious sequel. When their time of service is accomplished they are free. Many are fortunate enough to be chosen as wives by Japanese during their stay in the establishment; but for the most part, these victims of depravity become old while still young in years, and enter into the order of female religious mendicants: of whom more hereafter.

In one of these tea-houses of which the Russian officers of the squadron took almost exclusive pos-

session, several mornings were passed in photographing Japanese of both sexes decked out in full costume, dancing and singing girls, with now and then some curious beauty from the neighbourhood; also musical instruments, swords, gongs, teapots, &c.—in fact, everything that was characteristic of the country and scene, or could help to fill up the picture. Group after group was taken of figures sitting, dancing, attitudinizing, eating, drinking, or smoking, and glass after glass spoiled, owing to the laughing and frolicsome behaviour of the highly amused *moosoome*.* After several well-portrayed scenes were taken, though not without great trouble in keeping the subjects in a state of repose for a few seconds, the hilarity of the whole party was increased by the changing of costume. Moosoome came out in uniform, with pantaloons and swords girded on; officers in *Keremon* and *Obee*,† their hair dressed out *à la Japonaise* with coloured crape, and flowers. Each played the part of his or her assumed character, the moosoome strutting up and down, and the men prostrating themselves like the Japanese women, till the scene became so ridiculous that the most serious could not hold out. The people around roared with laughter; tears were running down the cheeks of a fat old bonze, as his ponderous sides shook, while two caustic-looking, two-sworded gentlemen, putting their noses in at the garden gate, shook their heads, and, no doubt, vowed to themselves that the barbarians were spoiling the people. An inci-

* Moosoome—Anglicè, girls.

† Keremon, Japanese gown; Obee, a silk scarf worn round the waist, and tied into a huge knot.

dent at last took place which promptly dispersed the assembly, and showed me an old rural custom of Japan. Just as the women reappeared in their own costume, half-a-dozen men entered the garden with something like grass in their hands. No sooner did they appear, than the women, young and old (the latter might have saved themselves the trouble), ran screaming in all directions, and the men with the grass after them. When they were caught, down went their keremons, and they all received a stamp on the naked back with the roots of the grass, which left the dirty impression on their skin. Following the example set by the men, nearly all present, catching up some of the roots, gave chase through the garden and different compartments of the building, and inflicted the same penalty on the victim when caught. Few of the moosoome, however, made any difficulty about it; on the contrary, it was a long time before many of the party came back again. It was explained to me by one of the Japanese present, that what I had just seen was an old custom in the country, on the first day of pulling and transplanting the young rice.

Before leaving Nangasaki we had a banquet in the temple, given by the officers of the *Ascolde* to the other ships. The Japanese furnished quantities of game, among which was a species of wild goat, which is much hunted in the mountains of the interior. I have heard it said, that the goat was an animal unknown in Japan; it is, at least, never kept in a domesticated state.

Some time before our arrival a large fire had con-

sumed the Dutch storehouses in the island of Desima, and the Japanese had lent their aid in extinguishing it. During my rambles about the town and visits to the different houses, it more than once occurred that the people offered to sell me champagne, beer, coffee, &c., all which had evidently been plundered during the fire. The same were offered to others besides myself: quantities of coffee, which is not used by the Japanese, were offered for sale to some of the men for a mere trifle. The honesty of the Japanese people has been much vaunted, and, without doubt, they are honest among themselves; but this instance, and one or two which occurred afterwards, showed that they are not so particular where foreigners are concerned. Yet during my residence on shore in the temples of the places I visited, I never heard of a single thing being pilfered, although our effects were carelessly cast about, and crowds of Japanese were continually passing and repassing.

After a stay of about twenty days in Nangasaki we sailed, intending to proceed straight to the Amoor River, but an unforeseen circumstance entirely changed the original plan, and detained us more than four months in different parts of the empire.

CHAPTER VI.

Sketch of Japan Empire—First Knowledge of it—Marco Polo—François Xavier in Kagosaki—The Portuguese Jesuits and Merchants—Spanish Intercourse—Taikosama—Proscription of Christian Religion—Dutch Intercourse—English in Japan—Trade, Persecution, and Rivalry of Europeans—Massacre of Simabara—Portuguese and Spaniards expelled—Dutch alone; Their Treatment and Servility—Incorporated into the Spy System—Intercourse of China and Japan—Attempts to renew Relations during the last fifty Years—Different Treaties, and necessity for re-making altogether—Geographical and Political Description of Empire—The Eight Castes of Japan Society—Men and Women; their Appearance, Dress, Customs, &c.—Marriage and Polygamy—Punishments and Suicide—Sintooism—Buddhism—Education—Language—Literature—Industry, Arts, and Science—Productions of Land—Food—Houses—Manner of Sleeping—Simplicity of Dress and Habits—Gardens—Medicine and Mechanics—Expectations formed of Japan—Trade formerly and at present—Utility of Ports in Japan to Whalers and other Ships.

It was about the end of the thirteenth century that the first notice of Japan was given to Europeans by the celebrated Marco Polo, who had the good fortune to see some ambassadors of that nation at the court of a prince of Mantchooria, with whom he was staying. The costume and habits of these men were just what they are at the present day, and probably had been a thousand or more years before he saw them. It was this land, called by Marco Polo Zipango,* that Columbus went to discover, and found America.

* Zipango.—The Chinese call it Ye-pan-kouo, *i.e.* Japan Kingdom.—(Le Huc.) The Japanese call their country Nipon, from the chief island. The Chinese words mean, the country of the rising sun, or the east, from the situation of Japan with regard to China.

In the middle of the sixteenth century, the Jesuit missionary, Francis Xavier, landed at Kagosaki, the capital of the dominions of the Prince of Satsuma, in the island of Kiusu. He and his attendants were treated with great hospitality, and princes and people were converted. After the missionaries came the merchants of Goa and Macao, who reaped a golden harvest, and Firando became the seat of their trade.

Manilla was already a flourishing city. Her merchants envied the rich prizes of the Portuguese; her Dominicans the success of the Jesuits. Both entered Japan, and became the rivals of the Portuguese; and Jesuit and Dominican set their proselytes the edifying example of envy, hatred, malice, and all uncharitableness, practised one towards the other. The results did not teach them wisdom; for the same policy was acted over again in China, and is continued, in a modified degree, down to the present day. Rivalry, and intrigue for domination and power, took the place of conversion, till they all found themselves involved in common ruin.

Taikosama the Great, the conqueror of the Corea, was one of the greatest, and certainly the most ambitious, of Japanese monarchs. His object was to become the Louis XI. of the Japan feudal system. A shipwrecked Spanish captain displayed before the eyes of this man a map of the world, half of which then belonged to Spain. He did more: he explained the policy of Spanish conquest—the missionary pioneer, followed by the needy adventurer and ferocious soldier. This was enough for the wily Japanese; twenty Spanish priests were crucified in Nangasaki,

and the Christian religion was proscribed. It remained, however, lingering on, whilst commerce flourished.

Meanwhile (1600), the Dutch entered on the stage. One ship of a fleet only arrived, and in it was the Englishman Adams, who obtained much favour from the Siogoon; partly, no doubt, because his religion differed from that of the Portuguese and Spaniards. Through his exertions, trade was opened with the English East India Company, but was carried on with much lukewarmness, and intrigued against both by Dutch and Portuguese. It ended quite in 1673, during the inglorious reign of Charles II.; he being married to a Portuguese wife, and at war with the Dutch, both these circumstances gave full scope to Dutch intrigue.

In 1631 the Portuguese were prisoners in the newly-settled isle of Desima; the Dutch in the old port of Firando. The Spaniards had departed seven years before; but edict after edict was fulminated against priests, churches, and Christians. All trade was encouraged: especially raw silk was received; and copper, silver, gold, wax, and camphor were given in exchange; the only contraband was the Jesuit, and every means was adopted to keep him out. Japanese spies constantly resided at Macao, and a most insulting surveillance was exercised over the once proud Portuguese: the rudders of their ships, and their arms, had to be sent on shore; themselves were guarded in their walks abroad, and the emblem of their religion was trampled under foot before their eyes. There is, however, a great deal of doubt as

to the extent to which this practice was afterwards carried, and I believe it has been long discontinued. In Japan, as in China, many things in Buddhism resemble those of Romanism; and I have seen not only images like the Virgin, but also the cross, in the temples of Japan: the string of beads is worn by every bonze and devotee in Japan.

But the last act of the drama was about to be played out. The Christian population revolted, and shut themselves up in the strongly fortified town of Simabara. The Japanese troops were unable to take it, and requested the aid of the Dutch. The Governor, Rockerbecher, complied; European cannon demolished the fortress, and delivered forty thousand men to pitiless massacre. Thus the act of an avaricious trading company cast a stain on the character of a brave nation, whose valiant deeds for their liberty had just been applauded by all Europe.

A pretended conspiracy, revealed by the Dutch to the Japanese, closed the account of the Portuguese. Ten days were allowed them to be gone; and an edict threatened death to any Portuguese who should put foot in Japan. A year or two afterwards some ambassadors from Macao endeavoured to renew relations, but they were put to death; a proceeding which prevented a repetition of any further attempts.

The Dutch had triumphed; they were now alone in the rich field they had so long struggled for and obtained by so much bloodshed and intrigue. But what was their mortifying position to find themselves prisoners in the same narrow island from which their rivals had just been driven! The same humiliating

surveillance was exercised over them; they were, moreover, required to be the spies of the Japanese Government over the other nations of Europe, especially over the Portuguese. At the same time those laws were made—that junks should be constructed only with open sterns, and therefore not sea-worthy; that no Japanese should leave the empire, or even hold communication with strangers under pain of death; —the results of which are plainly evident now. The Dutch, however, made their millions. In 1660, they lost Formosa, wrested from them by the Chinese pirate Koxinka. Throughout the East, also, their power was declining. This was well known to, and taken advantage of by the Japanese. They depreciated the gold coins which the Dutch received by one-half, then a short time afterwards by another half; and their insolence towards their prisoner-merchants was unbounded. On the other hand, the Dutch employés cheated the Japanese, brought them inferior goods, peculated, and indulged in private trade themselves. Thus, for many years past, the profits of the trade have been nearly null; two ships per year between Nangasaki and Batavia were all that were sent, freighted partly by the company and partly by merchants who bought the privilege. The Japanese, throughout all the intercourse, were the greatest gainers. They obtained information from Europe, on politics, science, and literature. Books, especially those on medicine, were translated; instruments of different kinds were imitated; and cannon and guns imported to replace their bows and arrows: many of which latter are, however, still used by the military.

But the day of the Dutch is finished. It remains to be seen how the new order of affairs will affect the country—whether the high ideas of expansion and commerce will be realized by the European powers whose flags now float at the different ports of Japan.

Communication between Japan and China is said to have existed long before the Christian era. The Chinese looked upon Japan as a subject State; the Japanese proved their allegiance by insolence, piracy, and conquest. A bitter national hatred has ever existed between the two peoples: the Chinese eat blood and ill-treat their women, say the Japanese, who seldom touch flesh, and allow full liberty to their females. Nevertheless, the Chinese traded to Nangasaki with woollens, furs, and raw silk; but under most restricted terms. Two junks were left as hostages in the hands of the Japanese, and their factory was strictly guarded. When I was at Nangasaki the same state of things existed, and I heard that all overtures made by the Chinese to have the privileges of European nations had been repulsed.

The attempts of Europeans during the last fifty years to renew intercourse with Japan may be told in few words. Captain Pellew, in 1808, entered Nangasaki, and his visit was followed by the suicide of the governor: it is not certified, however, that his presence was the true cause of this misfortune. During the French occupation of Holland further attempts were made by the English, but with little success. In later years, several ships tried their fortune, but were always supplied, gratis, with provisions, and dismissed. It was reserved for the Ameri-

cans to succeed in 1853. Commodore Perry entered the Bay of Yedo, and forced a treaty, and the opening of two or three ports for whalers. The Russian mission of Admiral Putiatin followed. Then came the Dutch and French treaties. In 1858, Lord Elgin made his in Yedo. The Americans re-made theirs; the Russians also; and it seems very probable that they will soon all have to be again re-made. Prussia* and Denmark are hastening to the field.

The whole empire of Japan is comprised of 3,800 islands, rocks, &c., integral or dependent. It is situated in one of the most favoured spots of this world as regards climate. Its soil produces the vegetation of the tropics and of the temperate zone; its colonies furnish all that a colder region only provides; its coasts are jagged with bays and harbours; its lofty cones of volcanoes, active and extinct, are its seamarks. The sea that washes its shore is of that beautiful blue of the deep ocean which is so seldom seen in the neighbourhood of land.

Nipon—*i. e.*, the land of the rising sun—is the chief island, and gives its name to the empire: Japan, and other European pronunciations of the word, are erroneous. This island, Kiusu, and Sikof, the next two in size, with the outlying groups, compose the empire proper. Yeso and the Kuriles are, properly, colonies and conquests. The former island was taken about two hundred years ago, as also were Sagalien and the Southern Kuriles, until Russian power was encountered. The fate of all these islands is evident; they

* The Prussian expedition is said to have been unsuccessful. February, 1861.

must belong again to Russia: with, perhaps, the exception of Yeso. The Loo-choo islands are, properly, only a tributary state of Satzuma.

The three principal islands of Japan are portioned out among the feudal princes, and are divided into eight provinces, which are again subdivided into six hundred and twenty-two districts. Though each principality is governed by its own prince, such a surveillance is exercised over them by the imperial government, through its numerous spies, that, with one exception, Satzuma, they are kept well under control. The imperial cities, so called, are Yedo, Miako, Nangasaki, Oosaki, and the other ports open to foreigners; the Government having the power to take the rule of any city out of the hands of its feudal prince, if for State reasons it be necessary.

A description of what is known of the political state of Japan can be given in a few words. It is about the most absolute despotism that exists, or has ever existed, yet tempered by ancient customs having all the force of laws. The policy which has ruled this nation surpasses all that Machiavelli, Metternich, or Talleyrand ever dreamed of: Fouché would have been a demi-god could he have had such a police and such spies.

At present, little is known of the policy of the empire, or the workings of its different parts; and all communications pretending to explain these should be received with greatest suspicion. The information derived from the government officials is not to be depended on at all. M. Gaskewitch, than whom no one is better acquainted with the language, literature,

and institutions of Japan, has confessed his ignorance on many points, which writers have since endeavoured to explain; and he had, perhaps, greater facilities of learning the truth than any one, for he was intimate with a learned Japanese, who left his country some years ago, and who accompanied him to St. Petersburg, where he still resides.

The chief Emperor is the Mikado, or Diari, whose residence is Miako. He is the chief of all the religions of the empire, but particularly of the old Sintoo. Formerly he was the ruling temporal prince, but he has long been reduced to a state of political impotence, like that of a *Roi fainéant* of early French history. He is consulted *pro formâ* on all subjects of importance, though his counsels are not necessarily followed. It is reported that, when informed that a treaty had been made with the Americans and Russians, he was totally opposed to it, and predicted that numerous evils would ensue in consequence; which have certainly come to pass. His court is said to be the seat of the arts and the resort of learned men. His attendants are priests of royal or noble blood; his wife and his concubines the prettiest and most cultivated women, as are also all those of his court. He himself is weighed down by his honours. But very little is known as yet either of him or his half-fabulous Court.

The Tykoon, or Siogoon, is the temporal emperor, of hereditary descent, and the real source of all political power. He resides at Yedo. His government is a Council of State, of whom five are said to be feudal princes, and the rest chief nobles; through this coun-

cil must pass all important affairs and the signing of death warrants.

The Minister of Police holds in his hand the threads of the vast spy system of the empire, but does not form a part of the council of state.

The Chief Councillor, or Prime Minister, is said to be the most important personage after the Siogoon.

If the Tykoon refuse to sanction any law made by his councillors, or by a majority of them, the matter is referred to a committee of chief princes, of whom the heir apparent is one. If their decision be given against him, he must resign; if, on the contrary, in his favour, those of the council who opposed him are *supposed* to commit suicide.

Next in rank are the great feudal princes of Japan, many of them very powerful, and with large bodies of retainers at their command. The most redoubted is the Prince of Satszuma, who is quite an independent prince, having at his command a large army and artillery, which the proximity of his State to Nangasaki has enabled him to acquire. His officers were studying artillery practice under some officers of the *Ascolde*, when I was in that town. The imperial spies scarcely ever enter his dominions, for his counter-police is so good that they are invariably murdered. The late Governor of Hakodadi is said to have been, for more than seven years, a spy in Satszuma and Nangasaki, where he worked as a common carpenter, making notes and fulfilling his office. For his zeal, he was promoted to be governor. Few are so lucky as he, in escaping. One reason assigned for the power of this prince is, that he had in his hands the son of a former

Emperor, whose descendants he can at any time set up in opposition to the present Tykoon. Some of these princes are for, and some against, the present change. Of all those persons — princes, governors, with the Tykoon himself, who signed the first treaty, only two are said to exist, the rest having been sacrificed, or having sacrificed themselves. It is these princes who will bring down the wrath of foreign powers upon the imperial government, to end most probably in their own overthrow.

After the princes come the noblemen of different ranks, and these furnish the State with officers and governors of the imperial domains. To every one is attached a locum-tenens, or rather spy, who reports on his conduct.* They are obliged to remain half the year in Yedo, and their wives reside there altogether. If one of these noblemen become too rich, honours are heaped upon him, which force an enormous outlay—a policy which keeps them in a state of subjection.

The next class are the Sintoo and Buddhist priests, the latter doomed to celibacy, but practising it about as much as did the monks of the middle ages: in almost every obscene picture in Japan there is sure to be a bald-headed bonze. They are of various ranks; some of two swords, others of only one; they dress in long black or white robes, and are the educators of the young.

The soldiers, vassals of the crown, or of the feudal princes, whose embroidered badge they wear, form the

* It must not be supposed that such a system is considered disgraceful in Japan. It is a recognized part of the Government, just as an *Opposition* in Parliament is with us. In the higher stations the word *comptroller* would better express the office than "spy."

next class. Their weapons are bows and arrows, pikes, and latterly muskets supplied by the Dutch and Americans. There is also a corps of artillery and engineers. I knew an officer of the latter, who had a very good knowledge of mathematics and fortification. Added to these, are the sailors of the newly-formed imperial fleet.

The fifth class are the inferior government officers, interpreters, "eschia," or medical men, and literati. These mostly wear two swords and trowsers.

The sixth class are the merchants, who possess the least importance and the most money, and are on this account much resorted to by the higher classes, who despise them. Though not so cunning as the Chinese, they bid fair to become so with European contact, under the able lessons of those inferior government officers through whom business is at present transacted. I saw more of this class than any other in Japan, except the officers and country people. To this class it is seldom permitted to wear a sword. As an exception I heard that the compradore at Nangasaki, on the recommendation of Captain Unkofsky, had been allowed that honour.

The seventh class are the mechanics, who all have their guilds as in Europe formerly.

The last class is composed of farmers, serfs, and all the lower orders of feudal retainers.

The pariahs of Nipon society are all those whose business is with dead animals, in skinning them, &c. This arises from the old doctrine of defilement by blood. Nevertheless, I have met officers and others out shooting, their hands and clothes spotted with the

blood of the game they had killed. Fishermen are also said to belong to this body; but if they are pariahs of society they are at least very happy ones.

The Japanese belong to the Mongolian race, of which they may be considered the first class, as they are certainly superior to the Chinese, both morally and physically. The men are of middle stature, robust, well-formed of limb, muscular, and agile; their skin is a warm white, ruddy in youth, and becoming yellow in after life. The labouring classes, however, who are generally naked when working, have a skin of a decided brown. Their eyes, as in all their race, are oblong in form, deep-set and oblique, piercing and expressive. The nose is generally flat, broad at the base, and the nostril extended; yet I have seen noses among them well formed, long, and almost Grecian.

While the Chinese shave their heads from ear to ear, crossing the crown, and allow the back hair to fall behind as a tail, the Japanese shave theirs from the temples to the crown, and collecting the back hair into one tress, about the thickness of the little finger, train it over the shaven part, tie it neatly with paper thread, and clip the extremities. This part of the head and the face they always keep closely shaven, so that, as may be supposed, a barber plays no small part in the public utility.

The women are as fair of skin as most Europeans, and are well formed; their arms, hands, and feet being well-moulded; were it not for their awkward manner of walking, owing to their sandals, they would be graceful; when sitting and conversing, the movements of their hands and arms are particularly so. Their abundant

black and rather coarse hair is bound up into thick masses at the back of the head, and a number of little arrows made of gold, silver, or ivory are passed through it, something in the same manner as with the peasant girls on the Rhine. Their coiffure once made, and the hair plastered with wax, it remains untouched for many days; care being taken not to disorder it in sleep. The teeth are an object of much attention; the young girls and the men have them white and even; the married women still even, but glossy black. Brushes made of soft wood, and a fine powder are used to keep them white; but the picture of an old woman, with her kani-box before her, blacking her teeth, is one of the most disgusting sights which a stranger can look on. Many girls also blacken their teeth, but the substance with which they do it is not very durable, as I have seen a brush and a little powder make them white and glistening again in a few minutes. The women also extract their eyelashes, paint their lips and cheeks with safflower (rouge), and use rice-powder extensively in their toilette. Altogether, the Japanese men and women, if not strictly beautiful, have much which is agreeable, and certainly original. The young of both sexes are remarkably pleasing; ruddy, laughing, and graceful in their actions; but though a young girl be like an angel at fourteen, she will be worn out, old and ugly at twice that age.

The working costume of the people is nature's robe, with the addition of a slip of cloth, like the maro worn by the South Sea Islanders. Their only garment when not at work is a loose robe of coarse cotton cloth, confined by a sash round the waist. The

women always wear a similar robe, but are not at all shy about throwing it off when inconvenienced by it in their labours or by heat. The costume of the great when at home consists of the same single dressing-gown, of better material, it is true, though of precisely the same form; but when they go out, receive visits, or are on service, their dress is very different. One, two, three, or four fine silk dresses are worn one over the other, and are tucked into a loose pair of trowsers; a broad scarf is wound several times round the waist, in which are stuck the two swords, the fan, the pipe-case and pouch, and the indoo, an ingenious little portable medicine chest (with the ladies, containing perfumes); and over all is a long official jacket of black silk or crape. The wearers are guided as to the colour of their trowsers and under garments by the rank they bear, and no person below the fifth class is permitted on any account to put on trowsers. The dress of the ladies also consists of robes-de-chambre, varying in number according to the season; they are rounded and open at the bosom, and confined round the waist by a long scarf called an "obe," which is tied into an enormous knot behind. Gold and silver brocade, and embroidery form a great part of the attire of ladies, who can afford those luxuries. The sandals worn by both sexes are of straw, fastened by a thong which passes between the great toe and its neighbour. To keep these sandals on in walking requires a depression of the heels, which of course causes a corresponding depression in other parts of the body, and gives the wearer an awkward appearance: a woman walking quickly has to shuffle along at a step something between a

toddle and a trot. A thick cotton sock, with a partition for the great toe, is worn by the men, beneath their sandals, and both men and women tramp along in high wooden clogs in wet weather; but, sensible people as they are, no sooner do they come into a house than they kick off shoes and stockings, and walk about at their ease with naked feet on the soft mats.

The common mode of salutation is to bend nearly double and remain so for some time in conversation, giving a bob down for every compliment; which, as politeness is one of the greatest of Japanese virtues, occurs very frequently. The visit or rencontre ends in the same way as it begins; and it is a most amusing sight to see two old women bobbing thus, and chattering for half an hour before either one or the other will give in. The men generally salute one another in the same manner, but they pass the hands down the knee and leg, and give a strong inhalation of pleasure while performing these gymnastics. The difference may be seen at once between inferiors saluting their superiors and equals saluting equals: in the latter case the ceremony is a long one; in the former a low bend from the inferior till the fingers touch the ground, a curt yet affable bend from the superior. But there are a great many nice distinctions observed in the etiquette of salutation according to rank, which could only be made intelligible to the stranger by the lectures and demonstrations of a professor.

Men and women go uncovered both at home and abroad; the military are the only exception to this rule. To protect their heads from the sun, their large paper umbrellas or their fans are used. In the north,

where the winters are often severe, they muffle up their heads in a cloth, so that only the nose and eyes are visible.

Polygamy, if allowed by law in Japan, is not practised; for although the great generally have a number of concubines, still one woman only is the wife, and she alone has the honour of being a hostage for her lord. Divorce is not permitted to the higher classes, but only to merchants, artisans, or peasants. The nuptial ceremonies are all fixed by law or custom, according to the rank of the parties; the number of presents to be given and returned; the duties of bride, bridegroom, father, mother, friends, and assistants—all are strictly defined. The same strict etiquette regulates the treatment of the newly born babe, the growing child, the dying, the dead, and the funeral rites. So immutable and deeply rooted have the customs of this country become during its long seclusion from the Western World, that the whole machinery of life, political, civil or social, goes on with the regularity of well-ordered mechanism, and has become popular by long continuance. Provisions were made against every event: especially against intercourse with the stranger—the forerunner of change; and death was to be the penalty of all who should hold communion with him.

Capital punishment seems to be inflicted by burning alive, beheading, or crucifixion, according to the crime; justice being both prompt and without mercy. For political offences, and misfortunes or faults of generals, statesmen, or officials, as bloody a law as ever disgraced the Punic senate, is in full force in Japan.

The unhappy person, however, has the sad privilege of suicide, and so saves the honour of his family, and his property. A small sword presented to him, generally by the officer who is to replace him, is the signal that he has succumbed to intrigues, to disfavour, or to fate; he draws the sabre across his body, often cross-wise, and some faithful friend or hired attendant finishes the work which a too timid hand may have failed effectually to perform; the head is then severed from the trunk. Often the disgraced officer does not wait for the summons of his prince; he stoically takes leave of his friends and family, retires to a temple, and anticipates the fatal message by an heroic self-destruction. Only the religious belief of thorough annihilation after death could produce the calm execution of a crime against nature, as is said to be the case with the Japanese; just as the hope of more than earthly bliss prompts the fanatic follower of the Prophet to seek the same end by rushing into the midst of his infidel foes.

Sintoism is the ancient religion of the land, and is nothing else than the worship of ancestors. Its rites are very simple, and the moral tenets it enjoins are the same as those which are the groundwork of purer religions. A Supreme Being is acknowledged, and a mirror in the temple is said to be the emblem which represents his purity and power of penetrating into the human mind. These temples are primitive buildings, and form a great contrast to the rich and idolatrous habitations of Buddha. The priests of the Sintoo religion do not shave the head, and they are permitted to marry, and wear two swords. Such a simple worship could not

long satisfy the multitude, so that when Buddhism was introduced, with its absurd ceremonials, its grotesque idols, its less abstract doctrines—a religion whose rites could be readily performed—it was immediately received by the people, and has become the prevailing creed of the land. Its temples swarm with priests, who entirely shave the head, and are not allowed to marry. Buddhism in Japan, however, is more respectable than in China; the absurdities there practised in the ceremonial, such as letting off crackers, &c., are never seen in Japan.

There are said to be other sects who differ from the two above mentioned, and even a party which still adheres to a degenerated form of Christianity, the traces of the labour of the Portuguese and Spanish missionaries in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries; but little or nothing is known of them. There is no reason to believe that the Japanese are at all a bigoted people; on the contrary, all creeds would be perfectly tolerated, so long as they had no political tendency. It was only because Christianity appeared dangerous to the State that its followers were persecuted and destroyed.

Education is widely spread among the people, who are all able to read and write; the bonzes being the chief instructors. Caligraphy is an art studiously cultivated, and it is a great occupation of youth to acquire it to perfection; boys of all classes may be seen, in their moments of leisure, flourishing their brushes over a roll of paper. The Chinese is the language of the learned. There are two Japanese languages, both written and spoken—a simple and compound one. The former has an alphabet of

decided sounds, preserving the same value in all combinations, of which many can only be imitated in European tongues by a series of consonants, especially the gutturals: the Russian being, of all European languages, that which has the greatest affinity to it in sound. The system of forming words is phonetic: the simple character expresses only a syllable, whilst the compound character expresses the word complete, or even a series of words. For example, the word Sa-ka-na (fish) can be expressed by three characters of the simple, or by one of the compound language. So with other words, and even ideas. In Japanese works, explanations of difficult symbols are often given by placing the reading in simple characters in a parenthesis. Different characters are used in writing, according to the matter in question and the person to whom it is addressed; thus different forms would be used in writing a diplomatic report, and a letter to a friend. To acquire enough of the ordinary language for the common purposes of life is easy; but it would require long years of residence and hard study to be able to appreciate the different styles, or even to become acquainted with the mass of words, and their value according to the emphasis laid upon them.

There are large public libraries in Japan, and literature is as common, and books are as widely circulated, and much cheaper than even in Germany.* Thousands

* In this the Japanese are a remarkable contrast to the Chinese. Williams, in speaking of the literature of the latter, remarks—"No treatises on the geography of foreign countries, nor truthful narratives of travels abroad, are contained in it, nor any account of the language of their inhabitants, their history, or their governments."

of illustrated novels are printed every year; and, to judge from the pictures with which they are profusely illustrated, they contain much the same ingredients as our own—love, murder, adultery, suicide, intrigue, heroism, and folly. Obscene picture-books and prints are very common; and it is no unusual occurrence for a young girl to offer them for sale quite as a matter of course, and as though there was nothing disgusting about them. Their books are printed from wooden blocks on fine silky paper, doubled, so that the exterior sides are only printed upon. The Japanese are much further advanced in painting and drawing than the Chinese; they understand perspective, and many of their wood illustrations are both true to nature and well designed, in their peculiar style.

In industrial arts and manufactures, the Japanese on the whole equal the Chinese, and in much excel them: their lacquer work is far superior in design and finish; their silks and crapes are inferior, and of a width unsuitable to foreign use, being only a foot wide. Linen and cotton cloth is coarse, but soft; and, from the price I paid soon after our arrival in the country, I should judge that foreign manufactures could not compete with them. The paper of Japan is one of the most remarkable articles of its industry; and there are

Philological works in other languages are almost unknown. Works on natural history, medicine, and physiology are few and useless." The Japanese, on the other hand, have numberless native works on all these, and, what is far more important, they cause translations to be made from what European works they can get on those subjects. They seem thoroughly to appreciate the necessity of approximating their intelligence to that of Europeans; all are eager to understand the language of the Western stranger, and reap every possible benefit from his presence.

many sorts. Thick paper made of the bamboo is oiled, and made into umbrellas, great-coats impermeable to wet, and coverings for palanquins and boxes. Thinner sorts, made from the finer part of the bark of the mulberry-tree (*Morus Papyrifera*), are for personal use—for blowing the nose, wiping the fingers, wrapping up the meats taken from table, and various other practical purposes. Every man or woman has the long sleeve-pockets filled with this useful article, and it forms an important clause in the marriage contract, what supply the wife is to receive every month. The finest quality is used in rolls for writing, printing on, and making into writing books.

The Japanese cutlery and sword blades cannot be surpassed in any country in Europe, though iron is scarce. Copper is manufactured into various forms, ornamental or useful, such as vases, animals, birds, besides being used in the carpentry and decoration of buildings. Silver and gold are also made up into innumerable articles of jewellery. Great skill is shown in the working up of metals, such as gold, silver, copper, and iron, one with the other, into ornaments; especially those for the hilts of swords and clasps. The mirrors used by the Japanese are of bronze, the reflecting surface is silvered and polished, the back and handle are wrought with different devices. Since my return to Europe I have seen in the museum of Copenhagen some Etruscan mirrors identical in form and character with those of Japan.

Among the minor manufactures may be mentioned rush and grass mats; bamboo made into cups, mats, and innumerable other things of common necessity;

carved images of wood, ivory, or bone, called Needzgee, which are worn as an appendage to the pipe-case in the girdle of every Japanese; pocket-books, pipe-cases, and garments made from the deer-skins of Yeso and Sagalien. In all these, as in fact in everything which leaves the hands of a Japan artisan, there is a neatness and elegance which show at once the taste, patience, and skill of the people.

The chief agricultural productions of the country are—rice, which is the staple product; other cereals, grown in small quantity; and pulse of all sorts. The soil yields the fruits of temperate and tropical climes, but of inferior quality. Grapes grow in abundance on the slopes of the volcanoes, but they are tasteless and sour. The cotton-tree (*Rhus* —?) and the tea plant are planted as hedges, so as not to take up unnecessary room. The infusion made from the tea is a pale yellow, and its smell and what taste it has are very aromatic: as a beverage it is as universal as in China. The varnish-tree (*Rhus* —?), from which the celebrated lac is made, is also common in China; where, however, its juice is not brought to nearly such perfection as in Japan. Sugar is largely grown, and is used uncrystallized. Vegetable wax, from which the Japanese make their candles; camphor; a vegetable oil which burns extremely well, and is now used on the Californian coast for the lighthouses; the sauce called Soya, made from bean meal and salt, flavoured with herbs; different fermentations of rice known as saki; flax, and a kind of nettle (*Urtica Japonica*), from which ropes are made; the all-useful bamboo; various species of pine

and cedar, used mostly in the construction of junks and houses, besides many hard woods: such are most of the productions of the country, natural and artificial.

The chief food of the people is fish and rice, with eggs, vegetables, vermicelli, sea-weed, and pickled roots, cakes, and sweetmeats, to diversify the diet. Saki, tea, and sugar-water are the only drinks.

All the houses are of unpainted wood, the outsides being generally formed of sliding panels, so that the door may be in any part the owner likes. Inside there are other sliding panels with window frames, and a space from one foot to six feet wide is left between the outer and interior slides, which forms a kind of balcony, either for pleasure or for performing domestic jobs. All the windows are of oiled paper, stuck on neat frames with a glue which is insoluble in water. The interiors are divided into chambers by sliding screens of paper. ornamented with paintings of scenery, or of animals: Foodra, with its flat, snow-topped summit, tortoises, butterflies, cranes, and monsters are the favourite delineations. The floor is covered with mats of a uniform size, about half an inch thick, and in the middle is a square place for the wood fire, when a brasero is not used. There is little or no furniture, so called; indeed, none is needed. The inmates sit on the mats by day around their trays at dinner, or tea drinking; and at night, a thick mattress, covered with silk, crape, or cotton, is laid on the floor for a bed; then the Japanese, throwing off his day-garment, puts on a thick wadded keremon for his night toilette. The most curious article of bed furniture is the pillow. In the

Malay Archipelago, a hollow bamboo-platted pillow is used; in China a roll of stuff encased in a lacquered cloth, and painted with different devices, is the mode; but in Japan the pillow is a pretty little lacquered box with drawers, in which the ladies keep their paper, hair-arrows, &c. The top of this box is concave, and a little cushion, in shape and size like a sausage, is wrapped in clean paper and placed in the hollow for the back of the head to rest upon. The Japanese always sleep on their backs; and as only a small portion of their head touches the pillow, their elaborate coiffure does not become disordered during the night's slumbers. Their sleep, however, is only for short periods, as it is the custom to eat in the night from a tray placed by the bedside, or to take a few whiffs from the pipe; the tobacco-box containing live embers, and other conveniences for smoking, being always within hand's reach.

In their persons and homes the Japanese are scrupulously clean. Public bathing houses are found in all the towns, where boilers of hot water are always ready, and their ablutions are performed by pouring the water over the body. Men, women, and children bathe all together, and in the country the nearest brook is the bath: even in towns may be sometimes seen through the door the master, mistress, child, or servant, sitting in a tub of water enjoying their luxury. Their only unclean habit is that of permitting the refuse of the houses to collect in little trenches around the buildings, so that in hot weather the stench is often quite unsupportable.

The great simplicity of their dress and habitations

is another quality which must strike the stranger in Japan. I often wondered what became of the rich and decorated utensils and furniture displayed in the shops, as I never once saw any such in use among the people, nor even at the feasts of the higher classes: invariably the different meats were served on plain black lacquer ware. As regards dress, it is only the women who appear in gay colours; with the exception of officials when in gala costume: even then the accessories are of the plainest description; straw sandals and a plain fan of white paper and bamboo. But although the more costly and decorated articles of their manufactures are never used and seldom displayed, yet their inner chambers, or large trunks, are almost sure to contain them. Those droll little cabinets of lacquer and gold, with drawers and recesses, of all shapes and sizes; the richly embossed bowls, cups and boxes; indoos, needzgees, images carved in wood or ivory, or cast in metal; gorgeous silks and satins; embroidery of gold and silver; tapestry; rich keremons and obés; wonderful porcelain; kani-boxes and saki bottles: such are a few of the varied contents of those trunks, and which are generally obtained as marriage presents, or by that social interchange of homage and cordiality which is practised by the Japanese at the New Year, and on other remarkable feasts of their Calendar.

But if the interior of the houses is homely, there is quite a luxury in the little gardens which adjoin them. There are rocks, rivers, lakes, cascades, and mountains in miniature; gold and silver fish sport in every pool; shrubs and trees are trained into the drollest yet most symmetrical shapes; there are birds whose notes are

sweet, or whose plumage attracts the eye; there are flowers whose perfume floats on the soft air, or whose brilliant petals glare from the dark foliage which surrounds them—the camelia japonica, the rose, clematis, jessamine and orange, the lotus and the lily, besides many unknown in European floriculture. The Japanese are passionately fond of flowers, and have attached to each some sentiment or signification; and they have a poetical calendar arranged according to the successive blooming of different plants throughout the year.

The Japanese seem to have possessed long before our Christian era those notions of science which in a crude state filtrated through Asia, to be brought to perfection by the philosophers of Western Europe. They have for ages determined time, seasons, and the direction of places by the sun's shadow with a dial and gnomon. The hydraulic clock, which Ctesibius invented at Alexandria 140 B.C., had been used many centuries before that time in China, and perhaps in Japan. Astrology and astronomy were ever favourite studies of the learned. The inferior animals, their instincts, qualities, and capabilities of service to man were closely observed; and much has already been learned of China and Japan by western nations, and more will yet be learned to enrich the science of natural history. The healing art in Japan was until lately, much as it still is in the Chinese empire, a simple hygienic treatment, with the favourite operations of acupuncture, moxa-burnings and frictions; but subsequently many Dutch works on medicine have been translated, and that science has entered upon a wider field, which the presence of medical men at the consular ports will do

much to extend. In simple surgery they seem to be very expert. European machinery, the railroad steam; cannon, fire-arms and defensive architecture are receiving great attention on the part of the government and the learned; and very creditable imitations of such things have already been turned out.

But in this age, in which speculative ideas are so closely followed by practice, and immediate results are expected to follow the slightest discovery, the great question is, of what use will Japan, that country so long all but unknown, be to those who have been so assiduous in forcing an entry therein? The Government of the United States, which was the first to take a decided step, was no doubt prompted thereto by a laudable curiosity, and the desire to rival and take precedence of all European powers in throwing open the land, so to provide harbours of refuge for her whaling fleet, the largest in the world. Russia has a still stronger interest in the matter, as her colonies adjoin Japan, and the pioneers of either power come in contact upon an unsettled boundary. But the great object of England and America was the rich commerce expected from free intercourse with the people. How far such an object has already been, or is likely to be attained, I will endeavour to show in a few words.

The Portuguese, and afterwards the Dutch, realized enormous profits on their trade, which was chiefly in the precious metals; and it is estimated that those nations drew from Japan, during the ninety-five years preceding the prohibition in 1708, metal to the amount of nearly one million pounds sterling per annum. About that year the exportation of gold and silver was

forbidden, and that of copper allowed only to the amount of 15,000 piculs. From that time the exports gradually decreased, and during the present century the trade at Nangasaki was insignificant. The Dutch still retain the monopoly of copper, which, however, will shortly expire. The principal imports by foreigners were raw silk, dye-woods, iron and glass, cotton and woollen cloths; their exports, besides the metals, were camphor, lacquer ware, wax, and sulphur.

On the general opening of trade, or rather before it, in 1858-9, many fortunate speculations were made at Nangasaki and Yokahama, and cargoes of sea-weed, fish, lacquer ware, and wax were shipped for the China market; but this was only of short duration. At the end of the latter year hardly anything could be obtained at all, and many ships had to return as they came. The Government forbad the sale of any one commodity to a larger amount than fifteen piculs per day, and refused to furnish Japanese coin to a greater extent than fifty dollars per day. In addition to this, prices naturally augmented in the ratio of the new demand. The first comers were enabled not only to get rid of their cargoes to advantage, but to purchase the productions of the country at a very low rate; but with the increasing demand the prices of most articles mounted upwards of 500 per cent. in the course of a few months.

The great hope of political economists in looking towards this country was that the cottons and woollens of England would find purchasers among the thirty or forty millions of its people; but it is a hope not at all likely to be soon fulfilled; for what has Japan

to give in exchange? She cannot furnish those two important commodities which China does—raw silk and tea—in themselves more than sufficient to balance the imports of our manufactured goods.* She has now no abundant supply of the precious metals, apparently not even enough to maintain the currency of the country, and the produce of her soil can only be very little over and above her own consumption. Besides, as I before said, the Japanese have their own cottons and linens, cheap and abundant, and their thick wadded cottons are used in the place of woollen garments. Japan has probably in the bowels of her mountains wealth enough to balance almost any amount of importation, but that wealth can never be available until European art assists Japanese industry in working the rich mines, which, though said to be nearly exhausted, are probably only so in relation to the imperfect way in which they are worked. Free trade, free intercourse, and time, will alone show how far this country can answer the expectations which have been formed; the people, it is true, are willing, but the government is averse to such a state of affairs, and it will only be when the same policy has been enacted against it as against China, that there can be any chance of success. But the interests at stake in Japan are trifling compared with those connected with China;

Exports from China, average for five years . .	£9,000,000
Imports of English manufactures, average for five years	2,000,000

Balance made up by opium and manufactures from India. But the Japanese do not smoke opium, and are not likely to do so. At Nangasaki an attempt to introduce it was found out, and the opium was thrown overboard.

and even though compulsion were crowned with success, the object attained would not be found to compensate for the cost of securing it.

The only real benefit of the treaties, therefore, is the opening of ports in various parts of the empire, where ships, and especially whalers, can refit and victual in safety. Of these there are at present five—Nangasaki, Hakodadi, Simoda, Yokahama, and Nee-e-ga-ta. This latter, however, not being a safe anchorage, and having a shallow bar at the entrance, is to be changed for another more suitable.

Such is but a slight sketch of the most interesting features of the Japan empire and its inhabitants; but it will, I trust, give the reader a glance into a country as yet so little known, and about which so much that is extravagant and untrue has been written in all languages. In the pages which follow a few more interesting facts may perhaps be gleaned.

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CHAPTER VII.

Hakodadi—Situation Important—Town and Neighbourhood—Visit of Governor—Breakfast—Japanese Swords—The Governor's Suite—A Sea-God's Temple, and the Rape of the God—Whalers and Whalemen—New Granada Flag in Japan—Excursions around Hakodadi—Rural Temples—A Water-mill—Japanese Sportsmen—Fête—Temples—Bonzes and their Flocks—Devotees—Graveyards—Funeral—Public Bathing—The Russian Consul—The American Consul—Disgraceful Scene—Incendiary Fire in Dockyard—Visit to Lead Mines—A Yankee-German and his Adventures—Aspect of Country in Yeso—Interior of Mine, and Manner of Working—Effect of Spy System—Smelting of Ore—A Country Inn—Public Dinner—Adventure with a Bonze and a Farmer—Japanese Gilpin—Tea Gardens—A Porcelain Manufactory—Arrival of Count Mouravïef-Amursky—Japanese Currency and Panic—Unpleasant Results.

As we steamed into the spacious bay of Hakodadi, the boat of a Japanese pilot adroitly laying itself just in our track, made fast to a rope and delivered up its pilot, to earn ten dollars for the Japanese Governor. At two o'clock we had cast anchor before the town, when the officials came on board to ask the usual questions and look about them.

It was soon known that despatches had been received from Count Mouravïef-Amursky, the Governor-General of Eastern Siberia, in which were orders to await his return in Hakodadi. He had been waiting for us for some time, and had at length proceeded

to the Peiho. The report was, that the whole Russian squadron in these waters would assemble in Hakodadi to accompany him on a diplomatic mission to Yedo.

Hakodadi is situated on a high island-like peninsula, protruding from the south shores of the island of Yeso into the Straits of T'zugar, and containing several peaks from 500 to 1,000 feet in height. It was one of the first ports opened under the American treaty, and was much visited by the vessels of the allied squadron during the war. Until then only a miserable fishing village, it is likely to become a place of considerable political and commercial importance, both from its geographical and its local position. A low alluvial isthmus connects the peninsula with the main island, and a plain of some extent, bordered by an amphitheatre of hills, over which may be seen towards the south-west the magnificent cone and plateau of the extinct volcano "Senkea," separates the mountain peninsula from the high lands of the interior. The town is built at the foot of the peninsula, forming three terraces of streets up its side, conspicuous in which are four temples, the temporary residences of the consuls, and near which the flags of America, France, Russia, and England now fly. If ever any European power wishes to obtain a *pied à terre* in Japan, no better spot could be chosen than Hakodadi. Easily fortified, with good anchorage, and a delightful climate, it offers all the advantages required for such a purpose.

The houses are of miserable appearance. They are built of fir-wood, and thatched with reeds and bark,

upon which large stones are placed to prevent their being blown off during the hurricane-storms which sometimes visit the islands. Over each roof is a tub filled with water, as a precaution against fire, but it is more for show than for use, as its contents would be about two pailfuls. Narrow ditches, filled with nastiness, surround each house and line the streets. The mildewed appearance of all the woodwork shows the occasional dampness of the climate. Within doors all is perfectly clean, as, in fact, are all the houses, even of the poorest class, in Japan. A few shops in which all the best wares were carefully packed away, were all that could be seen of its business. The inhabitants are already quite accustomed to strangers; not so, however, are the dogs, with which the place swarms; these noisy curs, however, always expressed their dislike from a suitable distance. They are a half wolf, half fox-like animal, resembling the dogs I afterwards saw in Siberia. There were also strings of shaggy little pack horses in the streets, receiving or discharging their burdens of rice, fish, or sugar.

On our arrival in Nangasaki, a pig, some fish, and a basket of vegetables had been sent on board; here we had nothing of the sort. Perhaps the oft-repeated visits of ships of war, or the practice of paying ceremonial visits, or an approach to European customs, may have been the cause. Neither, after a visit paid to the governor, were the remains of our insipid feast sent after us. I think, however, from what I saw afterwards, that it was the meanness of the governor which caused such a departure from Nipon customs.

On the 6th, the governor paid his visit on board.

He came in a large, unpainted boat sculled from the stern by some twenty men. In the middle there was a little raised cabin in which his Excellency and his attendants sat on mats round their tobacco-boxes and smoked their pipes; and in the prow there were official spears of various forms, with small flags and banners. Six other boats filled with officers and soldiers came after. Only the under governor, spy governor, and three or four other high officers, accompanied his Excellency into our cabin. After the commodore had shown him various European articles which he thought would interest, and which were looked upon with that grave and attentive reserve which marks a high-born Japanese, we all sat down to breakfast. The interpreter stood by the side of the governor, and interpreted with the most profound respect, his eyes cast down on the ground. Various dishes suited to the Japanese taste had been prepared, and sweet wines and liqueurs were served round. The governor and his lieutenant ate and drank sparingly; not so, however, the others: they took all we gave them, ate what they could, packed the rest up in paper, and deposited it in the bosom-folds of their capacious robes. One or two of them began to become rather merry after a few glasses of liqueur and Constantia, but on perceiving the eye of their master once or twice fixed on them, they would not touch a drop more.

The governor was an old man with a long face, pointed chin, straight nose, eyes very slightly oblique, and a very mild and pleasing expression. He put me much in mind of an old Scotch lady as he sat at table,

and the resemblance was made more ludicrous by the extreme politeness of the commodore, who had handed him to his seat, and was now helping him to this and that, and overwhelming him with the most marked attention. The poor old man was kept continually at work bowing his acknowledgments. He wore his official dress, yellow figured satin trowsers, a rich blue silk robe over a white one, and over all the black silk jacket-like dress. A pair of magnificent swords completed his costume, but these were delivered over to his sword-bearer. They were very old weapons, their hilts of corroded iron, yet richly wrought with gold and silver; but the blades were the chief object of value. These swords are heir-looms, and treasured as such. It has been until now almost impossible to obtain swords in Japan; officers of men-of-war can get permission to purchase them on application to the governor, or through the consuls, but it seems that the natives will not sell them to merchants or others, for numerous offers to buy were made to our officers by merchants both in Nangasaki, and afterwards in Yedo. In the latter place I found they were to be procured easily enough, but I had already bought a pair in Nangasaki. Much has been said of the beautiful temper of their blades; that they can rival the sword of Saladin in cutting through the most airy fabric, as well as through European swords, without turning their edge. The only instance I ever saw of their use was that of a Japanese cutting through a sapling about an inch and a half in diameter, and then repeatedly slicing pieces off the stump. I had afterwards a melancholy example of

how these swords can cut.* There is one great fault, however, with most of the modern Japanese blades; they are too highly tempered, and brittle at the edge.

The lieutenant-governor was a young man, of a very fine, sharp, and cunning cast of countenance. The others were very fat, good-natured *bons vivants*. The interpreter, who spoke English tolerably, was permitted, on the application of the captain, to partake of some refreshment in the presence of his august master. These interpreters are cunning rascals, and need be, to have to explain the most disagreeable truths in such a way as not to offend their superiors. I had reason to know in many instances that they do not half translate what is said; sometimes because they do not quite understand it, in which case they invent, and at other times because they dare not communicate the truth. Thus both parties are for the present in their hands. Most of the consulates have, however, an interpreter of their own, either a native Japanese, or a European who can speak the Dutch language, which most of the interpreters speak well. English is, however, now become the official language in transacting business with the Government.

After breakfast the party adjourned on deck, where the photographic apparatus was set up. The governor wanted his portrait to send to his poor wife in Yedo, but as it was beneath his dignity to have it taken so publicly, it was arranged that it should be done at his own house the next day. His subordinates underwent the operation. One, to whom it must have been new, became very red, then very

* *See* Chapter IX.—"Murder of Russians."

pale, as the focus was fixed on him, which provoked the laughter of all present, especially of the old lady the governor. When the result was shown him, he was delighted, and took it away with him to excite the envy of his own and his wife's friends. Soon after the governor returned on shore, and the corvette gave him a parting salute of five guns.

On the south-west side of the peninsula of Hakodadi is a remarkable cave, in which is a temple dedicated to the god of fishermen. Formerly it contained an idol, no doubt grotesque and curious, for it disappeared two or three days after the discovery of this cavern by the Americans in 1853. The Japanese fishermen accuse them of having taken it; the Americans say the fishermen removed it; but I met during my voyage the real culprit, who stole it during the night, and just as he had done so, was disturbed by the approach of an American boat from Ringold's squadron, which had come with the same intention. Having made up my mind to visit this cave, I accompanied Baron H——, an officer of the *Grêdin*, for that purpose. Unfortunately a heavy swell was setting in at the time, and as there are some rocks in the channel just below the level, and we were not provided with torches, we were unable to penetrate into the sanctum.

On a ledge of rocks near the entrance, I was surprised to find three or four Americans, with a boat drawn upon the rocks. These men were deserters from whale ships; for though men on that service are paid a per-centage of the proceeds of the voyage,

but receive no fixed wages, yet desertions are of constant occurrence, often after years' service, and when much money is due to the men, who, of course, forfeit all claim by the act. A few days before, a whaler came to Hakodadi, and lost half her men. The consul could not find them, but the captain obtained others, and put to sea. The men were then found by the consul, and employed by him at the spot where I saw them. Another whaler arrived, and the same thing happened; the former deserters would not re-ship; the captain could not put again to sea with his few hands; so he had recourse to stratagem. He put to sea one afternoon, returned in the night with an armed boat, and carried off all the men he could find. Mr. Rice, the American consul, had come on board the *Rynda* for assistance, but all the ships were then under such repair as would prevent their putting to sea for some days. I found the remaining men on the rock armed to the teeth, as they expected a second attempt would be made that night by another whaler, which, in fact, was made; but finding the men on the alert, the captain prudently returned with his boat. It seems to be a practice among whalers in these seas where men are not to be had, to deliver up their deserters one to another, but that does not prevent their being smuggled on board by the sailors, and stowed away till the ship puts to sea. If the captain has any suspicion of such practices, he has recourse to an infallible method of unearthing the men, by smoking the ship with pepper, when they soon make their appearance. The facts I have related will show the careless habits of this class

of men, their love of change, and disregard for the future. One man told me he had nearly a hundred dollars already due to him upon the cargo when he ran away.

A schooner arrived on the 9th under the New Granada flag, and although her captain was an American, she was not allowed to remain. The governor declared that no treaty existed with the Government of New Granada, and ordered that provisions should be supplied, and that she should be dismissed. The captain came on board to ask our interference, but it seemed to have no result.

For some days I made many excursions along the shores of the bay, and in the interior of the island, to the distance of ten or twelve miles, on horseback or with my gun. The horses we obtained were small, entire, strong and hardy animals, accustomed to move in single file, from their being used as pack horses. All transport of goods throughout the country is carried on by them, and by oxen. Wheel carriages are never to be seen, the only approach to them being low cars on rollers of solid wood, which are used to drag heavy weights. It astonished me to see the heavy burdens which these animals carried. Travelling in Japan is entirely in palanquin, or on horseback for the higher classes, on foot for the others. The saddles are high, uncomfortable things, made of lacquered wood, decorated according to the rank of the rider; in Hakodadi we generally got a sack instead of a saddle, which was not to be had for hire or sale. The stirrups are iron slippers, weighing eight or ten pounds each, and can only be used, I should think, by a

Japanese. A European, if he wishes to ride; must manufacture himself a pair. The price paid for the hire of these horses was 1½ itsheboo (2*s.*) per day; the price to buy them being from 12 to 25 itsheboo. This was during my first visit; but, as with everything else, in all the ports, the price increased six or seven-fold during a few months.

The hamlets on the shores of the bay contain a population of fishermen. Salmon, cod, soles, and other fish abound. But at this time of the year the principal fish caught is a kind of sardine, which they boil down and compress into large masses for exportation to the south. Blazing fires might be seen during the whole night along the shore, with the naked fishermen moving about them.

Following Kamida creek up to where it issues from the mountains, the road passed through a long scattered village of agriculturists. The houses were all clean, and there was an air of comfort and well-doing even about the poorest of them. Each had large stacks of beech wood provided against the winter, and men were still employed either in bringing it in from the mountains on their horses, or in sawing it up. The whole reminded me much of scenes I had seen in Germany. The country, on entering the mountain gorges, was most picturesque. The valleys seemed fruitful; rye, barley, potatoes, and pulse were growing about the homesteads interspersed with orchards, containing apples, pears, plums, and nuts. Herds of fine cattle were roaming over the plain, and troops of young horses frisking about amid the high grass; and yet it was almost impossible to get from

the comprador of the government an animal that was at all fit to eat. I verily believe that these cunning people palmed all their old disabled bulls and aged cocks and hens upon the Europeans, to avoid the necessity of having themselves to eat them, or let them die of sheer old age. Complaints were of no avail; the reply was always, that the people were unwilling to part with their young animals. The truth was, that the government bought the old ones for a trifle, and sold them at an exorbitant price to us. A bull cost, on our arrival, about 6 itsheboo; five months afterwards 20 dollars were demanded. It is true, they were a little younger, for all the aged animals of Yeso must have been already got rid of. It is a curious fact, that the cows of Japan will not produce milk except for their calves. The Japanese creed forbids its use, but I was assured by several Europeans, who tried to form a dairy, that they found it impossible to obtain milk from the animal under any circumstances. The sheep is almost unknown in Japan.

Everywhere the country people were courteous and obliging. On entering a house, or from the passing traveller, there was always the greeting *O-kai-o*. Whenever I came into a dwelling a place was pointed out to sit down, a pipe, tea, &c., were brought forward, and a conversation opened by signs, made more intelligible by the few hundred words I had learned or written down in Nangasaki.

Health and content were written in the face of man, woman, and child. Yet I saw the traces of many diseases—tinea, scabies, impetigo, and small-pox, for vaccination is at best very imperfectly understood even

in Yedo, and hardly at all here. Perhaps the most common infirmity in Japan is blindness. Medical men account for it by the custom of shaving the forehead to the crown, and going exposed to the sun and cold.

A striking feature in the rural scenery of Japan, are the little temples met with everywhere by the roadside. They are still more numerous than are the pagodas in China, and are always situated in a small wood, generally of fir-trees, through which an avenue is made up to them from the road, and carved posts of wood, like a gate frame, are placed at the entrance, and at intervals up the avenue. These temples are devoid of any beauty, being generally roughly built of wood, and sometimes, though not always, contain a few idols. Their principal use is as resting places for poor travellers, where they may eat and sleep, and in my wanderings about the country I often formed one of a party, whom I had met in these buildings. In the neighbourhood of Kamida, there was one most picturesquely situated by the river, and this formed a common place of resort during the summer evenings. The little woods are generally filled with rooks and doves, birds which love to haunt the precincts of the temples.

In one of my rambles I came upon a water-mill, and, curious to see the manner of applying that motive power, I entered. This was very simple; several poles of heavy wood were fixed in a frame, and in these poles were notches at intervals. A projecting shaft from the centre of the wheel had spokes placed also at short distances, and, as the shaft revolved, these spokes were caught in the notches of the poles, ele-

vating them about two feet, when they fell upon the grain placed in a round hole beneath. It was simply pounding in a mortar, by pestles moved in the above manner. The substance ground was rice, used for Japanese bread, or rather sponge cake, and for whitening the complexion of the ladies, who consume large quantities. It is also largely used as a substitute for soap, which is unknown in Japan. There is a certain bean, too, which, when ground, is used for the same purpose of washing. Public mills are not numerous in Japan, small ones being generally found in private houses or shops, in which the grain, &c. is pounded in a mortar, by a pestle on a lever, worked by a man treading on one extremity.

The shedding of blood is against all the moral laws of Japan, yet I met many a long-robed sportsman during my own shooting excursions. They were armed with a gun resembling a walking stick, by which hung a rope-match, as with the first matchlocks invented in Europe. Their powder was like small shot, and their shot like small bullets. The barrel was not bad, of small bore, and must have been true, since ducks could be killed by their two or three shots at some distance, as I have seen. My double barrel and percussion caps, fine powder, and even-made shot excited their admiration, though not their envy. In this island of Yeso, vast quantities of deer and bears are shot every year, and the horns and skins form an important article of exportation. The fishermen and the Ainos also bring in the skins of the beaver and sea-otter; but their value is well understood, and they fetch high prices. And yet a clause was inserted in the treaty against all

shooting or killing of birds, &c., as it would offend the prejudices of the people. Rather, it should have been said, that it would prevent Europeans rambling into the country, and so familiarizing the people with their presence.

There are in Hakodadi three large Buddhist temples, and one of the Sintoo creed, much inferior to the former. In one of these the Russian consul, M. Gaskevitch, is lodged for the present, until a large building, now erecting for a consulate, be finished. Mr. Rice, the American consul, or trade-agent, is similarly placed. The out-buildings of the temples throughout Japan are used for all sorts of purposes—as inns, dining-rooms, for charity meetings, and tea-parties, for it is here a custom to collect money from the devotee in much the same manner as in other parts of the world. I have sometimes seen hundreds of persons, men, women, and children, seated in these temples, each with his tray and cups of black lacquered wood before him or her, the bonzes praying or drumming, while their flock was feeding. After such a repast a general collection takes place, mostly in copper cash, among which a piece of silver may now and then be seen. Most of the fraternities of bonzes must be partly supported in this way, to judge by the frequent occurrence of these feasts. Like the Catholic priests of Belgium and other countries, where hundreds exist without any fixed employ, the bonze of Japan makes his own private connexion, and so gets all the religious work which may be required by the family, such as masses, private prayers at home, &c. To judge also from Japan engravings, they are not a bit behind their

brethren of Europe in the art of ingratiating themselves with the most pious and tender part of their flock.

The larger temples have all their different shrines, or small chapels, dedicated to particular devotions. Besides the various images of Buddha, a virgin and child are frequently seen, with many other most interesting deities, male and female, to whom prayers are offered up, much in the manner and for the same purposes as they were two thousand years ago to Venus, Diana, or Mercury. I have sat for hours on the steps of these temples, and watched the devotees as they put off the shoes from their feet, and entered the precincts of their sanctuary. At one time, two young and interesting women, in their newest costume, were squatted down before the drums, beating in cadence, to the monotonous mumblings of a bonze, hidden somewhere behind the altar. At another time, a poor old decrepid creature, with her brown and shrivelled bosom and legs bare, would put down her basket, and prostrate herself before some favourite god. Then a peasant, a merchant, a soldier, would look in at the door, fold his hands open upon his breast, and bow his head a few times, count his beads, and then, nine times out of ten, turn and examine me, and, at last, sit down by me on the steps and smoke a pipe. Seldom an officer, or a man of rank, was seen; the poor and the women seemed the only worshippers.

The porches and fronts of all temples of note are most elaborately decorated with wood carving, and with massive ornaments of copper. The roofs rise to a sharp ridge, and their sides, slightly concave,

are covered with tiles of the same form. At the gates may generally be seen beggars squatting down, many of them blind, with a cloth to receive the copper cash thrown by the charitable. Beggars, however, are not common in Japan.

Behind these temples in Hakodadi are the burial grounds, situated on the slopes of a fir-wood. There tomb-stones and cenotaphs may be seen as in Europe, with, no doubt, the same proverbs, the same recounting of virtues which the departed did or did not possess. Hither came the two young girls, whom I had seen drumming in the temple, to perform the pious task of placing fresh flowers over the tomb of their departed parent or friend. They put their lilies and bluebells in small bamboo cups, which they stuck in the earth, and having played a little, went shuffling away again arm-in-arm. There many a being of former days, "unknown to fortune or to fame," was lying, or rather sitting, for that is the posture in which the dead are buried. They are placed in a tub doubled up, and have generally but a very few feet of earth above them. Burning the dead is also common in Japan, and a place is set apart for that purpose behind the town of Hakodadi.

The funeral processions which I saw consisted of both men and women, the latter clothed in white dresses with hoods. Officials are always present to verify the burial. Bonzes perform their duty, and generally watch the grave for some time afterwards. As in China, a day is set apart for a fête in commemoration of the departed, and prayers are said, flowers strewed over the graves, and the bonzes make a rich

harvest by the sale of different holy objects, and by sacrifices, &c. But this custom is, I believe, as common in Paris as in Japan, and on a certain day, the cemetery of Père la Chaise receives its pious visitors, who leave their world of gaiety to cast a thought back on those they loved, to look on the spot where they are, perhaps, no more, and to plant a twig or sow seed upon that human mould.

What is the right definition of the word "modesty?" Such was the question I put to myself when I first, this day, entered a Japan bathing-house. There were men of all ages, women, girls, and children, standing by dozens washing themselves, with as much unconcern as though they were drinking tea, and, to tell the truth, the European visitor looked on as much unconcerned as any. "The immodesty is in the remark," said Madame de Staël, to a young officer, who asked her if she did not think some statue of Hercules, or Venus, which they were looking at, was very immodest. So I resolved to think no evil of the naked modesty of Japan.

On the 14th of July, the officers of the gunboat *Plaistow* gave a dinner to the officers of the squadron already assembled in the bay. On this occasion I met M. Gaskevitch, the Russian consul. This gentleman had resided for ten years in Pekin, and spoke the Chinese and Japanese languages fluently. It is known that for many years the Russian Government has had the privilege of an establishment in Pekin for priests and interpreters. In 1853, M. Gaskevitch accompanied Admiral Putiatin, as naturalist, on his mission to Japan in the

frigate *Pallas*. Transferred to the *Diana*, he was on board her at the time of the catastrophe at Simoda, remained some time there, and was taken prisoner in the brig *Greta*, by the English steamer before mentioned. Vainly he protested that, as a civilian, he had the right to be liberated; such a right was not allowed, it seemed, by the English code, for he was carried away to England, and there only liberated. He is the gentleman whom Captain Whittingham, in his narrative of the voyage of the *Sybille*, describes "as a learned Russian, a councillor of the empire, and a man speaking or writing most European tongues." This is perfectly true; he is, besides, a clever naturalist, has written much on Japan and China, published a dictionary of both languages, and is occupied in preparing a still more useful work on the language and customs of the country. The consul and Lieutenant Zelonoi, first officer of the frigate *Ascolde*, were two of the three prisoners then taken, and from both I made inquiries as to the truth of a report which I had heard, that Admiral Stirling had offered either one his liberty if he would consent to pilot an English squadron to where the Russian vessels were lying. I was sorry to hear it confirmed that such a proposition was made, but through an officer who, when fulfilling an unpleasant duty, protested against being anything but the vehicle of such an insulting message. To M. Gaskevitch I am obliged for many explanations of customs, which my short stay in Japan prevented my inquiring into myself.

While speaking of consuls, let me introduce to the reader the American trade-agent or consul. If any-

thing ought to prevent governments intrusting political business to trading men, especially in such a country as Japan, the disgraceful scenes which passed in this town of Hakodadi, ought to be a lesson. An American clipper-schooner, the *Maury*, under, I believe, the English flag, had followed us up from Hong Kong, and her commander intended to remain as a merchant in Hakodadi. Whatever may have been the disputes between these two men, who accused each other (and the whole was an affair of dollars, or the means of gaining them), the fact of a representative of a great people like that of the United States, so far forgetting himself as to come to blows with his opponent, and even to fight a maudlin kind of duel with him, and then their both running to complain to the consul of another nation of each other's proceedings, is to make a consulship a laughing-stock to all lookers-on; and a pretty picture it was to set before a people like the Japanese and their officers, whose satirical nature, though their words may not be understood, can be unmistakeably read in the nervous twitching of their mouths, and the droll twinkling of their eyes.

On the night of July 22nd the whole bay was illuminated by a fire in the Japanese dockyard and wood magazines. Boats were despatched in all haste from all the ships, and the sailors, by their systematic exertions, soon succeeded in cutting off the further encroach of the flames, and thereby saving many thousand dollars' worth of timber. The governor and his lieutenants and officers were on the ground, and thanked the officer in command. That gentleman told me, that on his arrival things were in the greatest

confusion—the men screaming, several bonzes present with their idols, and their little fire engines, in shape and size something like our garden pumps, squirting slender streams of water upon the flaming mass. This fire was discovered to be the work of incendiaries, one of whom was taken on the spot; the other was found a few days afterwards, and the trial of both was prompt. They were condemned to the death of incendiaries, which is to be burnt alive in the field set apart for the burning of the dead. Their sentence was forwarded to Yedo, for confirmation by the council, and due notice was to have been given to the consuls of the day of punishment.

About twenty-five miles from Hakodadi there are some lead mines, which I had long determined to visit, and on the 27th I set out for that purpose. My companion, a German Yankee, was a young fellow in whom the go-ahead enterprising spirit of one nation was grafted on the stolidness of the other. Tossed about by fate in various capacities and in various climes, he had at length been employed by the American consul as the doer of all sorts of dirty work, such as hunting up deserters from ships, and other matters, which a consul in these parts has often to attend to. But he had a spirit of enterprise in him which pleased me. He had already explored half the island of Yeso, and his last exploit was ship-wrecking himself before the little town of Matsmai, which he was desirous to visit. In an open boat, with two American sailors and a Japanese servant, and the stars and stripes flying above, he managed

to have his bowsprit and jib carried away when just before the city. He then ran his boat ashore, as he said, to repair damages. Whether the Japanese understood this trick or not, they shut up him and his men in a temple, and kept them prisoners. But as he spoke a little Japanese he bullied the officers, and, making himself out to be somebody, contrived to have an interview with the governor, to whom he delivered a letter in English, with a demand that it should be forwarded to the American consul. The letter stated that he was kept a prisoner, and requested that the consul would get a ship of war to come to Matsmai and release him. His ruse had full effect; the governor received the letter, but took care not to send it, and the Yankee and his men had full liberty to wander about the town; but this did not much benefit them, as the shops were all closed, the people kept within doors, and a posse of spies accompanied them whithersoever they went. 'Meanwhile, the boat had been repaired, but the weather was too bad, according to him, to set sail, so that his stay was prolonged for some days. The Japanese getting tired of this, were about forwarding him on by a junk, when he took himself off. Such was the companion of my little excursion.

Mounted on the stout ponies of the country, we skirted the shores of the bay for seven or eight miles, and then struck into the interior. The rain of the last few days had left the bridle-paths half a foot deep with mud, while many of the fords of the torrents were nearly impassable; and then there were numerous ditches with a small narrow plank for a

bridge, which required the utmost caution in crossing. About ten miles from the town we reached a small village, from which a guide was procured to lead us up into the mountains. From this village the journey was most exciting. Winding up steep mountain paths one moment, the next we were wading through the bed of a mountain stream, where the water was foaming over thousands of rocks; and thus we ascended and descended for miles, through woods of beech, birch, and larch: through valleys where the wild rose and many beautiful and gorgeous flowers, as rich in colour as the butterflies which were stealing their sweets, attracted and amused the eye and perfumed the air we breathed. The horse of our guide having slipped when crossing a narrow plank bridge, was precipitated with his rider into the deep ditch beneath; and the laughter which his appearance caused us was only equalled when, on crossing the next ford, my own steed lost his footing on the uneven bottom, and the stream tumbled us both over and over for some yards.

The country and its flora reminded me much of the scenery in the duchy of Nassau. In a few spots of the valleys were rude huts with patches of potatoes, beans, and peas around them; elsewhere, in the valleys and the hills was a thick brushwood, filled, our guide said, with foxes, deer, and a small black bear. Much has been said of the over-crowded population of Japan. True, Nipon and the southern islands are densely peopled, every yard of land, even to the mountain-tops, is cultivated there; the most minute hand-labour, and the arts of manuring, irrigating,

and reclaiming by dykes and drainage, are practised; the plough is unknown, the hoe being the great instrument of agriculture. It is this kind of labour which, with the simple habits of the people, and the non-rearing of animals for food, enables these islands to support their millions. Even their most valuable trees, the tea plant, the mulberry, and the varnish-tree, are so planted as not to take up room which might be devoted to the cereals, sugar, &c. But in the island of Yeso it is otherwise. The Japanese here are colonists, as traders and fishers, and their settlements are on the coast, or not far removed from it. The interior is still inhabited by the Ainos, helots of the Japanese conquerors, despised, jeered at, and tyrannized by them. Broad sweeps of alluvial plains, fruitful valleys, and mountain sides are here uncultivated, and await a further immigration.

In one of the gorges of the mountains was the mining settlement, presided over by a high officer of the Prince of Matsmai. This gentleman received us with all that quiet cordiality which is characteristic of Japanese good breeding, and introduced us to his wife and family, whereupon we all sat down round the tobacco-box, and smoked the customary pipe and drank the insipid tea which the lady of the house presented to us. We afterwards proceeded to visit the mine, the entrance to which was about 400 feet above the level of the river beneath. A dress made of straw or rushes, with a cap à la Robinson Crusoe, and a torch made of reeds, were provided for each of us in order to explore the dirty interior. The tunnel was about 500 feet long, very low and narrow, and the ground knee deep

in chalky mud. In this tunnel were four or five little chambers, in each of which one man was occupied in chipping off small pieces of the ore with a hammer and chisel, and placing them in small baskets, which women conveyed to the smelting hut outside. Two veins in the quartz, which I examined, were about eight inches thick; and specimens which I took were very rich. But all the leads were worked upwards; several attempts seemed to have been made to work down, but the holes were filled with water, which they have no means of emptying by pumping, &c. If no better principle of mining is carried out in the rich copper and silver mines of Japan, the greatest part of her mineral wealth is yet to be discovered.*

On leaving one of these chambers, I gave the man who had hewn me some specimens a small gratuity, which he thanked me for in the Japanese manner, by carrying the gift up to his forehead, and then placed it in his sleeve pocket. I then remarked a boy peering at us through the gloom. When half-way down the mountain I heard somebody shouting behind me, and the Japanese to whom I had given the piece of silver, came running after me, and returned the money with looks of the utmost fear and horror. Such is an example of the spy system pervading all classes. The boy had seen me give the man money; he, thinking us alone, had taken it, but on finding a third person present, he avoided the consequences of

* Most of the best specimens were stolen from me by the Japanese on my return to Hakodadi. One good one which I saved, seemed to be nearly pure lead, and contains also a portion of silver, of which the Japanese take no account.

being reported by hurrying after me and returning the coin. This is only one of many instances I saw of the same thing during my stay in Japan.

The mineral, on being brought from the mine, was broken up and sorted, only the richest pieces being carried to the smelting room. Here it was crushed by hammers, although a torrent was within a few feet, whose power might have been rendered serviceable. The smelting apparatus was a large ladle over a charcoal fire, with heat just sufficient to drive off the sulphur, and separate the lead from the dross, which a man kept skimming off with an iron spoon. The result was a cake of lead weighing about 40 lbs., and only one such was made at a time. I could not believe that this manner of mining was the most advanced in Japan, but the art is as yet in a most primitive state. If European science could get admittance, Japan would be found under European direction to be one of the richest lands in the world for mining industry.

On our return from the mine, the officer in command had prepared a collation of cakes, sweetmeats, tea, and saki, and having smoked a pipe, we set our faces towards the town, as it was getting rather late. On reaching the village where we had taken our guide, we entered the inn and set about preparing dinner, part of which, consisting of preserved meats, we had brought with us. The hostess supplied fish, eggs, and rice, with other items of Japanese fare. Seated in the fashion of the country in the interior of the building, our repast formed a sort of theatrical representation to the whole village. Men, women, and

children crowded to the bars of the window to have a good look, and, if their amusement might be judged of by their laughter, they had plenty of it in seeing the barbarians eating. Our dinner-party was presently increased by a bonze and a farmer, who sat down without ceremony beside us, and held out their cups to receive some of our potent whisky. This soon produced a wonderful effect upon our guests; the farmer began to sing; the little eyes of the bonze rolled in delight, and he commenced helping himself to the potted and forbidden beef, and that in the presence of all his flock outside. Japanese civilities were then exchanged. These consisted in drinking out of one another's cup, or presenting an egg or something with the fingers. But when the old bonze did me the great honour of biting off half an egg, and presenting me with the other half, it was too much, and I declined the honour; but the reverend gentleman was not to be done out of his politeness; he bit out another piece and again offered the remainder, with the same result. This he repeated two or three times, and at last, seeing I did not appreciate his civility, he tried to push the now dirty fragment of the egg into my mouth. A retreat only saved me from the choice morsel; and this winding-up of the scene was followed by a roar of laughter from the folk outside. The bonze, perfectly intoxicated, now rolled homewards: the farmer staggered after his horse. Ten minutes afterwards, as we rode up the street, we saw the same old bonze, seated before his drum, tapping and grunting out his prayers in the house of one of his private connections.

The ride for the next eight miles was enlivened by the Gilpin-like performances of the farmer, who had overtaken us. His legs crossed over the horse's croup, his arms embracing its neck, and his petticoat-like garments floating behind, he rode on for a few moments at full speed; then pulling up suddenly across the narrow path, he stopped our way, and wanted to indulge in a show of maudlin affection towards us. We lashed his horse with a whip, kept him on before us, and after he had been once pitched over the animal's neck, and another time swung round under its belly, with the saddle girths, his horse turned into a court-yard, and carrying him up to the terrace of the house, threw him over its neck, and went its way to the stable. Following him in, we watched his meeting with his wife, who had sprung up from her seat, and now knelt down beside him. The old lady, his mother, however, showed no such affection; she shook him, and slapped him, and when he stood on his legs, pushed him into another chamber and put him to bed. When she returned, she thanked us for seeing her son safe home, and set saki and cakes before us. In Japan, as well as in China, the duty towards parents is considered superior to that towards a wife; and a mother preserves her influence over a man as long as she lives. In Japan, however, a wife is an object of a man's affection, care, and kindness, while in China her fate is more often slavery, cruelty, and neglect.

On leaving the last inn, eight miles from Hakodadi, it was already midnight, and we still had to cross a plain cut about in all directions by ditches, besides

two rivers to ford. The little light which heaven gave us to keep the path was neutralized by the millions of fire-flies, which were darting about in all directions, and quite dazzled the eyes. We lost the path—stumbled into two or three ditches—came upon the river where it was unfordable, and had at last to retrace our steps in the direction we had come. Our horses saved us from wandering about all night. Accustomed to carry packs and march in single file, no sooner did we tie the rein into a knot, and give them liberty, than they followed their usual habits, and leading us over a bridge instead of through a ford, carried us like packs safely into town at nearly three o'clock in the morning. In all the inns and places where we had stopped, it was with the greatest difficulty we could get the people to accept money for their entertainment; in one or two instances they would not take it at all. Whether it was hospitality or fear of transgressing the law, I was not certain; in all other parts money was taken for entertainment or services rendered. But the *people* are naturally hospitable; they are fond of strangers, and would willingly enter into all the intimacy of pleasure, business, and sociability, only they are held back by a fear of breaking the law; so that sometimes I have known them hesitate to render the slightest service without first asking the opinion and permission of one of their superiors.

At a short walking distance from Hakodadi is a tea-house with gardens, charmingly situated in an amphitheatre of hills, and surrounded by fir-trees filled with cooing doves. Its gardens, in Japanese style, had many

dwarf trees, miniature rocks, precipices, and rills of water feeding numerous pools, which were now covered with lilies, in full bloom. A dozen cranes, some in the water, others on the summits of neighbouring trees, made the scene very characteristic of the country. These gardens are the favourite resort of the good people of Hakodadi. Vice and virtue seemed to frequent them by turns. On one occasion, a party of men, with their fair companions dressed in full array, might be seen feasting, lounging about, or reposing under the green mosquito curtains, with the slides of the windows open, unconcerned by the gaze of the passing spectator. On another occasion it was a juvenile feast of some hundred little girls, decked out in blue or crimson, their black hair glistening from the fresh toilette. Altars and images were placed where the mosquito curtains had been formerly, and a dozen bonzes conducted some religious service before their young and merry little flock. The ceremony concluded with a feast, after which the bonzes marshalled the prattling little moosoome back to the town.

Near this tea-house was a porcelain factory, which I visited. About twenty workmen were seated at as many lathes, worked with the foot, making cups, basins, and large dishes, and the evenness of their work and the preciseness of the finish were admirable. In another part of the building five or six more were employed in painting the cups in the grotesque style of Japanese art. When sufficiently dry, each article was placed separately in a vessel of coarse earthenware, and then submitted to the heat of the furnace. But the clay was very inferior to that of Nangasaki, and the pro-

ductions, though good, were not to be compared to the biscuit-like ware manufactured in that town.

The *America* steam paddle yacht, bearing the flag of General Count Muravïef, Governor-General of Eastern Siberia, steamed into the bay on the 2nd of August, and was saluted by the *Rynda* with nineteen guns. As the yacht passed us, the officers, in full uniform, and the men ranged in line, were hailed by the general, and this was repeated with all the ships in succession as she steamed up to her anchorage. The commodore hastened on board, and, when he returned, was accompanied by the count, who proceeded to a general inspection of the fleet.

Small round iron coins, pierced in the middle, and strung by hundreds on a rush string, as the brass cash are in China, are the chief money used among the people of Japan. Their calculations among themselves are always in *cash* or *ghe-ne*. One hundred of these are equal to an oval pierced copper coin of good appearance and well cast; seventeen of which, or 1700 *ghe-ni* or cash, make an oblong silver coin, called an *i-tshe-boo*. A quarter *i-tshe-boo* is a small silver coin of the same form. Four of these *i-tshe-boo* make a rio or coban, a thin oval gold coin. These cobans were formerly a great article in the trade of the Dutch at Nangasaki, and were debased several times to cheat them, as I before related. A Japanese money table may run thus :—

1700 Cash	=	1 Itsheboo (silver).
4 boo	=	1 rio or coban (gold).

"Itshee" in Japanese means one. They have two sets of numbers up to ten. In telling you the price of an article, a man would say Seboo, or four Itsheboo; and if he wished to make it more intelligible, he would add, *Itsheboo yutz*, or one Boo four times. Itsheboo, however, is the word which foreigners have adopted as the name of the coin, singular or plural; and although, like the word Japan, it is incorrect, it will continue to be used, especially as the Japanese shopmen have already got accustomed to the European manner. This Itsheboo by assay is said to be worth 37½ American cents, or 18¾*d.*

A Mexican dollar weighs 3$\frac{6}{17}$ Itsheboos. All coined silver of States recognized by treaty is taken for its equivalent weight of Japanese silver coin, and it is the same with gold against gold; but as an English sovereign is about the same weight as a Japanese coban, the actual value which the owner would receive for it if he wished to change his coban in Japan, would be four Itsheboos in silver. Thus, a sovereign worth 4½ Mexican dollars, is in Japan only worth 1⅓ dollar silver, if changed for Japanese gold and spent in the country. Any traveller, therefore, proceeding to Japan, would do well to provide himself with plenty of silver. I may mention, however, that these cobans are not to be purchased from the Japanese for four Itsheboo. Their worth is much more, and the Chinese in Nangasaki greedily buy up all they can get for from eight to ten Itsheboo.*

Changing money weight for weight, if the metal is of equal standard, must be a losing speculation to the

* See note, page 135.

Government, which has the expense of coining and waste. This, added to the insufficiency of coin to supply foreigners, may have induced the Japanese Government to change their system at this time. For the Itsheboo before mentioned, $3\frac{6}{17}$ to the dollar, they substituted an Itsheboo of the same value and weight as the Mexican dollar, in two coins of half an Itsheboo each. Their table would then have been—

1700 Cash	=	1 Itsheboo
1 Itsheboo	=	1 Dollar

Thus was the price of the iron cash raised $3\frac{6}{17}$ fold, a most disastrous measure, and one which threw all the poor tradespeople of the different parts into a frightful panic. The firm protest of the consuls caused the plan to be abandoned at Yedo and Nangasaki; but short as was the interim during which it was in operation, much damage had been done to trade. Whilst the new plan was abandoned at Yedo, orders had been transmitted to Hakodadi to try it there, and the 3rd of August was the first day of the change.

On going ashore as usual, I went to the comprador to change dollars into Japanese money, was offered the new coins, and refused them. I had given an order a few days before, to the amount of some twelve Itsheboos, and I wished to-day to fetch away my purchase. An article in the treaty stipulates that all sorts of coins are to be taken, and I knew perfectly well that all sorts *were* taken; as almost every shopkeeper in the open ports has a book containing impressions of all European and American silver coin, with their value in Japanese cash, or they weigh the

coin and calculate its value also in *cash*. I therefore took up my purchase, and paid down four dollars, thirteen Itsheboo. As I expected, the trader refused to take them. Nothing could be done but refer the matter to the Government officers, and I started off, surrounded by a whole posse of the man's friends, male and female, to the officer at the comprador's. He grinned, was very polite, and told me that the coin had been changed, that I must pay in the new coin, which meant, that I must pay twelve dollars for what I had a few days contracted for at the price of four dollars. It was for the manufacture of an article, the material for which I had myself supplied. Seeing that the Government official was, after the manner of his kind, and for his own profit, giving the cause against me, I took the law into my own hands, forced the four dollars on the man who refused to receive them, and seizing my property, I walked out, followed by officers and people. In the street, they attempted to snatch the packet out of the hands of the sailor who was carrying it, when I took it myself, and then laid my stick heavily over the back of the first one who tried to despoil me. This led to an uproar, but my stick cleared me a way to the temple where the consul resided. An hour afterwards, the man of whom I had ordered the things, and whom I had beaten, came with many bows to return me a string of cash, the change of my four dollars, to express his sorrow for the mistake, and to tell me it was all right. I was glad I had not hurt the poor fellow, as the fault was not so much his as that of the rascally officials who misled him, and I saw enough during the afternoon to convince

me they were all beside themselves with dismay. They were hurrying in all directions, searching up their debtors to get their money in the old coin; shops were deserted, and nothing could be bought; the possessors of dollars strove to get rid of them wherever they could, giving them for one Itsheboo instead of three, and if any of the European merchants had had a quantity of the old coin, they would have made a pretty thing by buying them up. Fortunately for the Japanese merchants they had not. In a country like this, where laws, manners, and life in general had gone on unchanged for ages, it can hardly be imagined what an effect this change had on the people. A little schooner soon afterwards came in from Yedo, and brought the order, which put an end to the system. On my return from Yedo, the new half Itsheboo was passing as half the old one, or three times less than its intrinsic worth, and the people seemed glad enough to get rid of the coin.*

* Since my return to England, I have read that the avarice of Europeans in trying to buy up the gold coin from the natives was the great cause of the ill-feeling between them. The truth is, that Europeans very seldom got Japanese gold coin at all, except they gave their own purer gold weight by weight for it. The people knew long ago the difference in value between silver and gold, and the Chinese have been for years in the habit of buying the gold cobans for silver, *nearly* at the real value of the gold they contained. A European trying to obtain cobans for four Itsheboos silver (for which he only gave 1⅓ dollar) of any of the natives at the ports, would only be laughed at for his pains.

CHAPTER VIII.

Departure from Hakodadi—Fishing—A storm—Bay of Yedo—Kanagawa and Yokahama—Trade—Deceit and unwillingness in trading—Writing on fans—Cranes—Tea-houses and their inmates—Yedo; appearance from the Bay—Forts—Japanese Navy—Ship-building—Visit of Governor of Yedo—Dilemmas of Japanese officials—Making treaties with foreign powers—Preparations for resistance—Discord among the ruling powers.

On the 5th of August, the *Rynda*, *Gredin*, and *Plastoon* gunboat left Hakodadi in company, to proceed to the general rendezvous in the bay of Kanagawa. The *Ascolde* and *America*, with the Governor-General on board the former, remained at Hakodadi to follow in a day or two. Salutes were given and returned, in number of guns according to the rank of each, the Governor-General getting nineteen, and the Commodore nine. A fresh S. by W. wind assisting our steam, we made good way through the Straits, the velocity of whose stream had been counteracted by the strong N.E. winds of the previous days. We were, therefore, soon on the bosom of the Pacific, or more properly the great ocean, for it certainly does not merit the former name, especially in these, its north-western parts.

Light and baffling winds from S.W. prevailed for some days; the weather was lovely: and the land, wrapped in partial masses of cloud, or revealing its

rugged tops, was the point towards which every eye was turned, as we approached or receded from it on either board. One day, when about twenty-five miles from shore, we came among a fleet of fishing boats, each with a large rod fixed in the prow. They were fishing for bonito. Long did the mat sails, with their long apertures to let the wind through them, remain in sight, until another object, the upper sails of a large ship, appeared following our track. A signal made her out to be the *Ascolde*, and over the wide waste of waters was borne without an echo the loud ring of our guns, as we again saluted. In the night she came up, and communicated with us, but in the morning was no more to be seen.

By that time, the barometer had suddenly fallen, the horizon was covered with vapour; and the air, calm and sultry, with a rising and angry sea, gave us notice of the approach of a storm. Towards night, the wind shifted round from S.W. to S. and S.E., accompanied by fearful squalls, which sent some of our sails into ribbons. So it continued during all the night and next day, the wind changing round to the east and north while the ship lay to under her storm trysails. On the second morning, the wind had settled down into a brisk northerly breeze, with bright weather, which enabled us to regain our way, and stem the strong current of the Japanese stream, which had set us many miles to the N.E. The frigate was not to be seen, neither was one of the corvettes, but the latter hove in sight again during the day. This storm, so violent about thirty miles from the land, was unfelt in its vicinity, except by a strong swell, as the *America*,

which was steaming close in-shore, told us afterwards. The frigate did not reach the Bay of Kanagawa until three days after us, having been driven much farther out, and her absence began to cause much uneasiness. She had, however, only suffered some slight damages.

The Bay of Yedo is one of the largest of the many arms of the sea which penetrate into all parts of the rugged coast of Japan. Its left side, along which we steered, is indented by many beautiful little bays, surrounded by villages embosomed in trees. Here and there were seen the terraces of gardens, which form so remarkable a picture in Nangasaki, showing the bee-like industry of the people. Here and there also was a neatly made fortification of earth, from which a boat would push off as if to reconnoitre us. The banks are from 200 to 500 feet high, of all form, regular or fantastic, mostly covered with trees; and the little capes were broken with many wood-topped rocks.

The Bay of Kanagawa forms a half circle of four miles diameter, fifteen miles below Yedo, the capital. Its shores, low or high, are covered with villages, and the view is bounded inland by the magnificent cone of Foodzee, the favourite subject of Japanese painters, poets, and romancists. The town, or rather village of Kanagawa, is at the bottom of the bay, directly facing the opening. Here reside the vice-consuls of the different powers, and the Governor of Yokahama, which is the port open to foreigners, and is about three miles from Kanagawa. It was built shortly after the signing of the treaty by the Japanese Government, expressly for the trade with the foreigner. A large

Hanhart lith

VIEW OF KANAGAWA.

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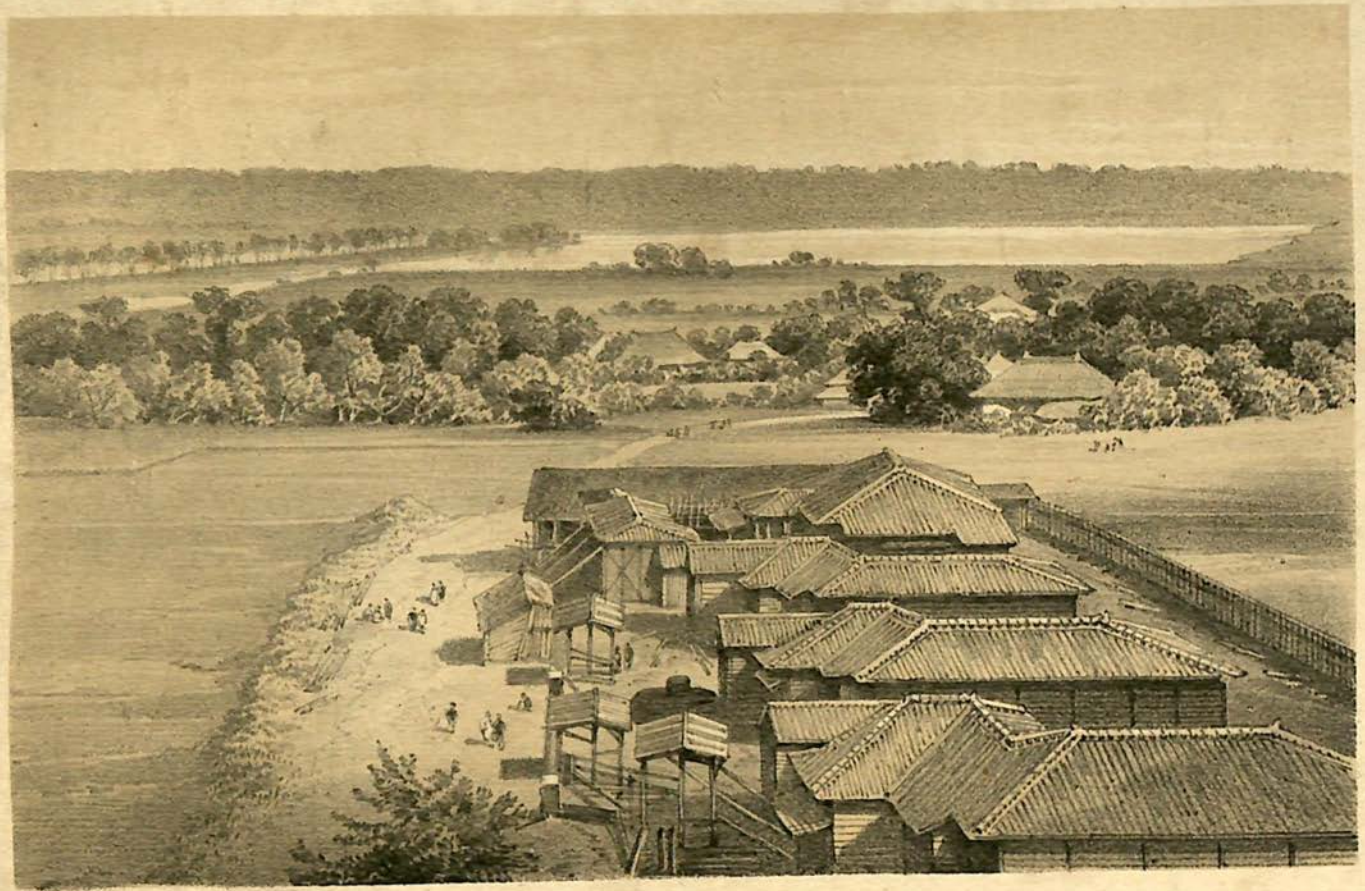
building or comptoir is in front of the landing-place, which is a stone-faced pier with broad steps on either side. One wide and convenient street of shops, with another at the top at right angles, was all that was finished at the time of my visit. The little houses of the foreigners were around the Government building, and near them, in continuation of the main street, was another with gates at each end, enclosing the tea-houses. In the spaces behind the principal streets were a few buildings, saki houses, theatres and exhibitions of wrestling, a favourite sport of the Japanese, every great person of whom keeps several wrestlers among his retainers. The houses are all of wood, built in the usual style; and the whole village cost the government one hundred and sixty thousand dollars, as I was informed.

Hither the first merchants of Yedo had been ordered to bring their produce and finest manufactures, and certainly the array of the latter, in all that was choice, curious, and beautiful, surpassed anything I afterwards saw in Yedo. The merchants were very obliging, bringing box after box and uncovering article after article of unknown manufacture; the choicest lac-wares of the country, fine painted porcelain, and wonderful embroidery, silks, crapes, besides thousands of various nic-nacs of which you knew neither the name nor the use, but which were highly characteristic of the arts of the country. The prices, too, were then moderate; although, perhaps, a hundred per cent. more than they had been a month before, yet, at least, two hundred per cent. cheaper than they became a month afterwards. Among the people, too, of all

classes, was discernible a courtesy unknown at other more retired ports, and one or two most exaggerated examples of polite attention came under my notice.

And yet, with all the desire of the merchants to trade on a large scale with the shipping, this was almost impossible. Every difficulty was thrown in the way, directly or indirectly, by the Government officials. Firstly, no business could be transacted at all without their interference; secondly, no coin could be obtained from the government to pay with, except a limited quantity every day, and the merchant was forbidden to receive foreign coin. Every project that could be adopted to disgust the stranger was tried, and that so indirectly that it was vain to complain to the consular authorities. Conclusive reason could always be produced why this or that transaction could not take place. One merchant I knew had bought a large quantity of produce from a sample, and was to have paid for it and taken it away on the morrow. He thought his bargain complete, but he could not obtain the coin, and when at last he received it, at the comptoir, he was informed with many regrets that the goods had been sold by mistake and taken away. Complaints being made to the authorities, the answer was, they could not compel the merchants to sell their produce, and that the man in question had not been aware that the goods were already sold, when he made his bargain. And all the while the produce was in the warehouse of the merchant. Such was one of the thousand difficulties that were daily thrown in the way of trade by the Government officials of the place; for, of course, they



Hanhart, lith.

VIEW OF YAKUAMA.

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were the contrivers of all such vexations. Trade in a small way in curiosities and manufactured goods met with no hindrance, though sometimes many formalities had to be gone through, such as giving your name, and registering your purchase.

Between Kanagawa and Yokahama is a pleasant walk, affording good opportunity to note the peculiarities of the country and the industry of the inhabitants. Two rather extensive streams, navigable for boats, flow into the bay between the two places, and several dykes erected along their banks and the shores of the bay, show that much land has been reclaimed from the waters, and converted into thriving rice-fields. There are several pretty temples, and many large black wooden buildings, store-houses, and depôts of the Government. The inhabitants were obliging, and though accustomed in a measure to strangers, were not the less curious, and surrounded us immediately, if we stopped for a short time. Being invited into her house by an old lady, I was kept occupied for two hours by her and her numerous friends in writing mottoes and names upon fans, which were brought forward in such numbers by different persons, that I thought I should never come to an end. Writing on fans is highly esteemed among the people, especially in a strange language: many times I have watched a caligraphist flourishing his brush, and thus ornamenting these indispensable appendages of a Japanese toilette.

One remarkable feature around Yokahama is the immense flocks of cranes, both grey and quite white. They are unmolested by the Japanese, and very tame.

The same feeling of reverence is shown towards these birds, as is shown by the Dutch and North Germans to the stork which builds upon their housetops. It is said that one of these white cranes with a black head, hunted by the Tykoon, is a customary new year's present from him to his spiritual potentate at Miako.

I mentioned that one part of the chief street enclosed by gates, contained the tea-houses. In every town in Japan are similar establishments, and they may be considered in fact as the most frequented inns in the country, though others of a more respectable character are found. In no country in the world is prostitution carried on to so great an extent, legalized, provided for, and encouraged by the Government. In Yedo there are similar houses adapted to the various classes of the population, and some which are frequented by the highest class only, where the most beautiful women, the best educated and the most accomplished in the arts that please, entertain their noble visitors in their hours of relaxation.

I have already mentioned that the women who inhabit these establishments are chiefly foundlings, orphans, or others, whom a hard fate has thrown in the way of the *entrepreneurs*. Add to these the women put away by divorce, a very easy matter in Japan. I myself knew in Hakodadi the wife of one of the merchants there, who, I heard on our return from Yedo, had been divorced, and was then an inmate of one of these houses. Again, poor people having many daughters, place them as children in these establishments, from which they become emancipated after a certain time.

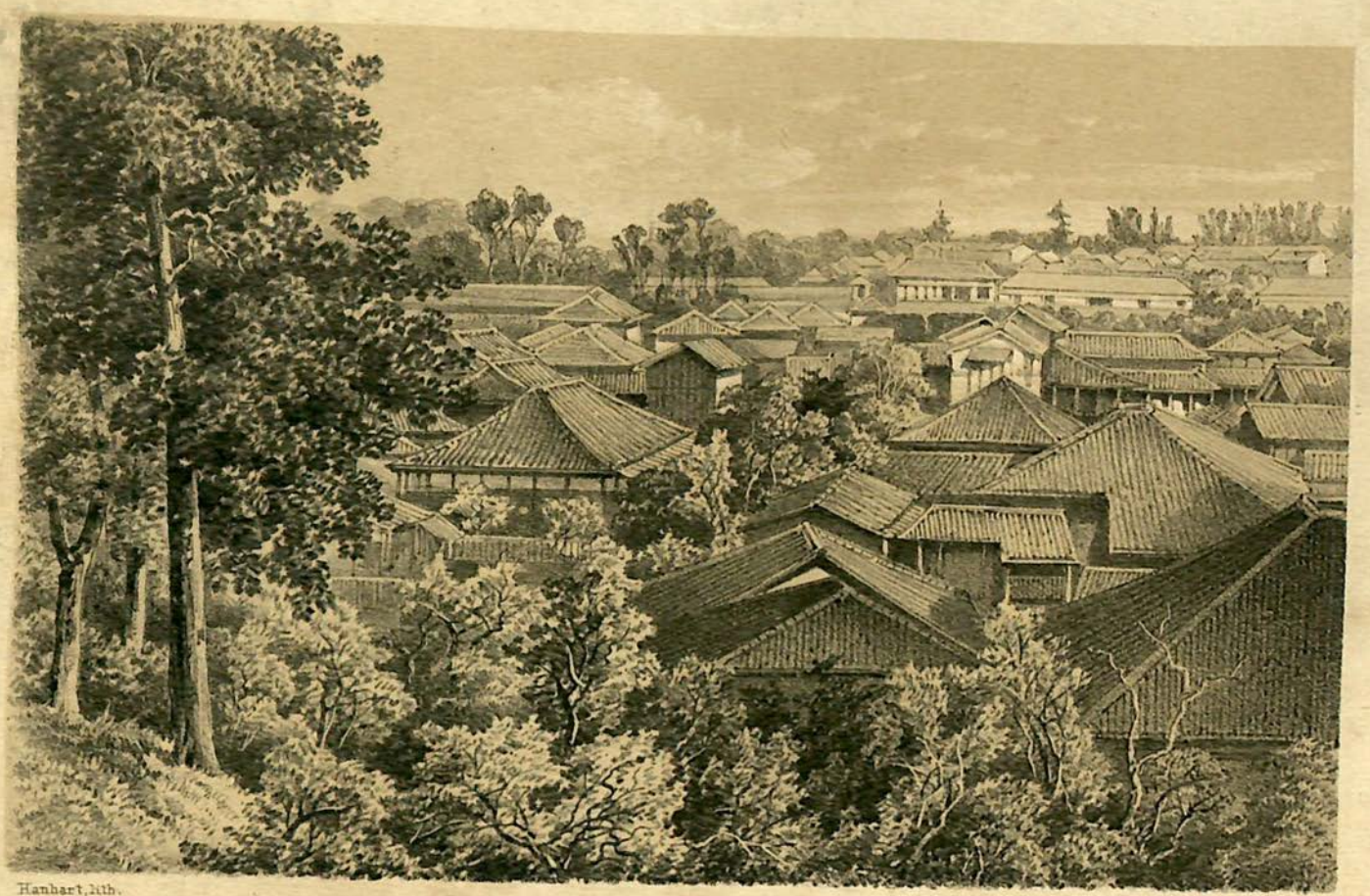
Many of them, when yet uncontaminated, are taken away by visitors, whose wives they become.

It is a very curious, though at the same time a revolting sight, to pass through one of these streets in the evening. A large room, the front one of each building, is only separated from the street by wooden rails in place of windows. Squatted down in a row, facing these railings, may be seen some twenty or more young creatures, dressed out in their gay robes, their black hair filled with trinkets, coloured crapes, or flowers, their faces, arms, and bosoms whitened with rice powder, and their lips and cheeks dyed red with the extract of the safflower. Before each of them stands a little black lacquered tobacco-box, or a box containing live coals, a place for tobacco-pipes, and a bamboo cup for a spittoon. Every now and then they take their miniature pipe, inhale once or twice, knock out the ash in the bamboo cup, and lay the pipe down for a minute or two. There is no indecency in their appearance; quiet, almost modest, they talk and laugh one with another in their childish manner, as though quite unconscious of the lookers-on: for in the street, with their faces fixed against the bars, with others leering over their shoulders of the first row, are numbers of the shaven-headed, libidinous lords, searching out their partners. One by one the girls get up and disappear, till at ten o'clock perhaps only one or two solitary creatures are left, half sleeping amid the smoking lamps. Such examples of immorality give a bad impression of the social and domestic life of the people; but I have seen the other side of the picture—the happy homes, the busy wife, numerous and smiling

children, fondly caressed by their parents, and all the appearances of a thriving household. Adultery, at least on the side of the woman, is seldom heard of, for not only can she be immediately divorced, but she most probably would be punished in a much more summary and fatal manner. I was sitting one evening with an American doctor in Hakodadi, when he was called away to attend a woman, whom her husband had almost cut to pieces on some slight suspicion of her infidelity.

On the fourth day the gun-boat *Plastoon* left for Yedo, with the Russian consul, to make preparations for the reception of Count Muravief, who arrived the same evening in the frigate. A general salute was fired from all the ships, to honour him, and to make an impression on the Japanese. The next morning the whole fleet steamed up the bay and anchored about four miles from the city of Yedo, the gun-boat having already taken up her place closer in-shore near the Japanese vessels. The squadron now consisted of the frigate, four corvettes of eleven guns each, a gun-boat, and the *America* steam yacht, mounting altogether one hundred and five guns. Another corvette and gun-boat joined soon after. These, with two more gun-boats of similar armament, employed up the coast of Tartary, two large steam transports, and a small steamer, comprised the whole Russian fleet in these waters.

From the anchoring place, a spectator would have no idea that he was in the neighbourhood of one of the most populous cities in the world. Vainly he would look for wharves, lofty buildings, spires, or



Hanhart, lith.

VIEW OF YEDO.

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pagodas. None such exist in Japan; there is only a low shore, broken by little eminences, and covered with verdure, gradually increasing in elevation inland, and a high range of mountains for a background, conspicuous over which towers the magnificent cone of the volcano, about 12,000 feet high, and distant 40 miles. A low line marks the head of the bay a few miles farther up, and the opposite coast is quite lost sight of over the broad lake here formed by its waters.

But at night the truth would break upon the gazer when he saw, for miles along the shore, light after light peeping out from the darkness, or by day when he marked through a glass the long unbroken line of low houses along the shore, and the sharp roofs of the temples amid the trees at a greater distance. Then the numbers of junks coming and going, and the busy fleets of fishing-boats scattered in groups over the bay, would remind him he was in the vicinity of a largely populated district.

Before setting foot on shore, I took a sail in the cutter to visit the forts which guard the entrance to Yedo. There are four of them, about a quarter of a mile apart from each other, the nearest being half a mile from the shore. They are nearly square in shape, the side about 120 yards in length. Their foundations are solidly constructed of stone, rising twenty feet from the water; and surmounted with earthworks, neatly covered with turf, on which a few guns were seen, carefully covered up, but without embrasures. The fleet, which was at anchor a short distance from these forts, consisted of one pretty steam

corvette, mounting, apparently, 10 guns of 24 lbs., and looking well fitted and in good trim. Two other screw corvettes, one mounting 24-pounders and the other small guns, and five sailing vessels of different rig, having the appearance of old store-ships or worn-out merchantmen, make up the fleet. The first, I understood, was the yacht lately presented by the Queen to the Emperor; the others were purchases made from the Dutch or Americans. Besides these ships, the Government possess a number of other vessels, mostly schooners, which are employed in keeping up communication between the different islands.

Since the time when Admiral Putiatin lost his frigate at Simoda, and built a schooner by the aid of the Japanese, they have become forward pupils; and though they most punctiliously follow the models they have, and do not venture to exercise their inventive art, they still have turned out some very creditable craft.

A revolution must soon take place in their naval tactics. As yet the Government alone possess ships built in European style; but, if it only be permitted, the enterprise of the seafaring community will soon change the open-sterned floating haystacks, with sails formed of strips of matting laced together, for craft more suitable to withstand the stormy winds and boisterous seas of their broken coast. Already Western science has made great strides among them. Though the lone fisherman or the coasting mariner may still, while skirting the shore, look up with anxiety and take warning by the light curl of vapour encircling the heads of their revered and seldom-failing barometers, the volcanic cones, yet they have begun to put more

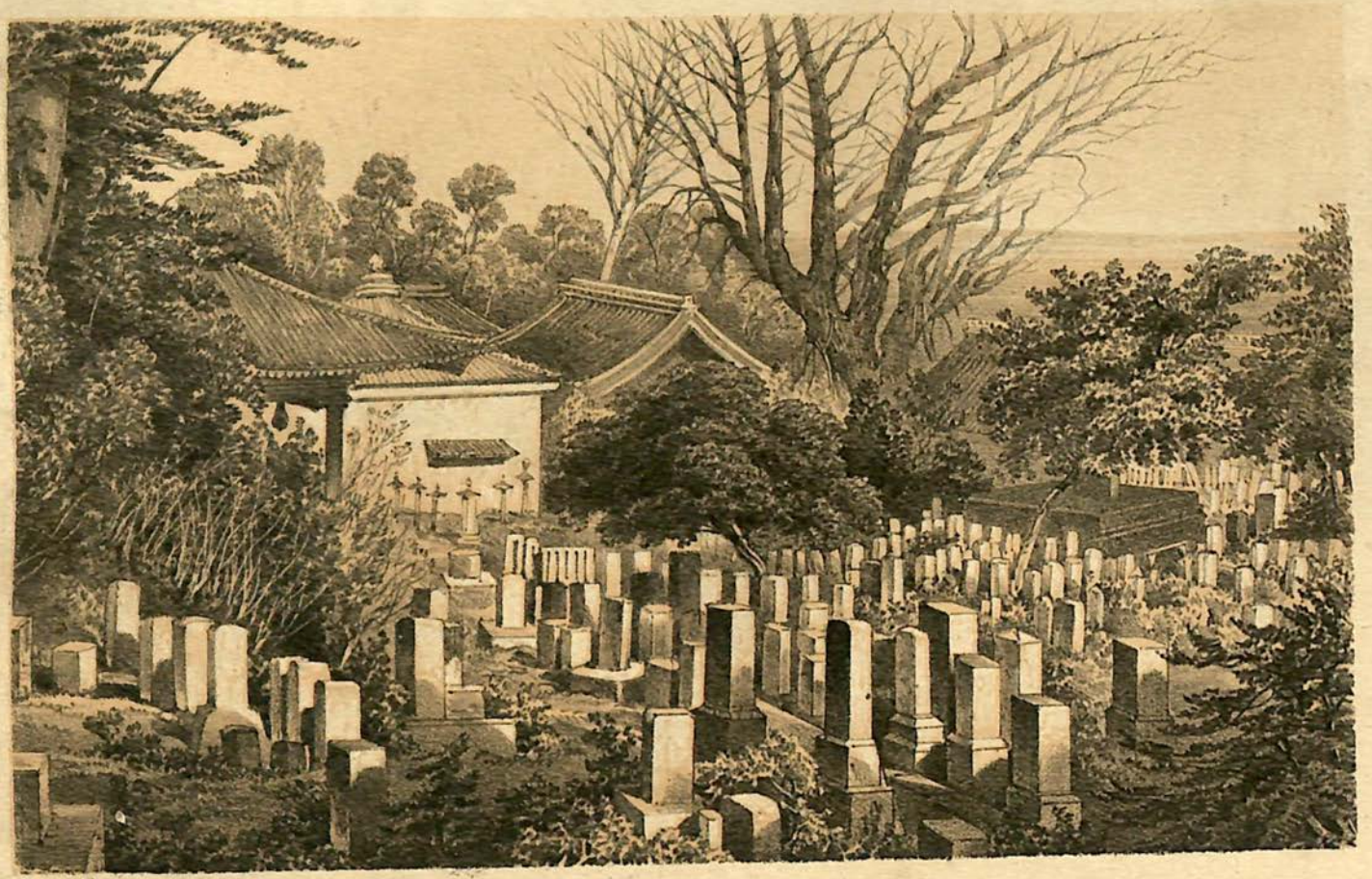
faith in a less erring guide, our mercurial barometer. The compass they have long possessed, much longer than their now more advanced visitors.

The day after our arrival, the Governor of Yedo, informed concerning the high personage who had come to visit the capital (for what purpose he knew not yet, though no doubt both he and his fellow politicians did not feel very well at their ease), hastened on board to pay his respects to Count Mouravief. His Excellency refused to receive him officially; nevertheless, all the attention and honour due to his high rank was shown him. I cannot help pitying the state of these unfortunate officials, and the perplexity they must have felt at each new arrival of fleets to make treaties, or re-make them; for negotiating with foreign powers, a new kind of diplomacy to the Japanese, had been proved to be most disastrous to the ministers engaged in it. With the best intentions, perhaps, they have to cede to the force of circumstances and the power of the stranger from without, to combat the opposition of a powerful anti-progressive and anti-reform party within, and run the risk of meeting destruction whichever way they act. Both are most hard alternatives; and a Japanese statesman must have an extraordinary quantity and quality of the duplicity which is characteristic of his race and profession if he can steer clear and turn to his profit the difficulties which attend all diplomacy with the foreigners. If he refuse to grant their demands he knows not how soon their cannon may be thundering around the shores of his country; if he grant too freely, or grant at all, he is never certain of the day when a small sword, presented to him

with the greatest respect, is to be the symbol of his downfal, and the signal that he must use it on his own person, to save his family from being involved in the same disgrace. It is not, therefore, to be wondered at that procrastination and all sorts of excuses should attend the making of a treaty, and that all sorts of difficulties and falsehood should be made use of afterwards to nullify it.

When stronger powers insisted that the ports should be open, and that commerce should be established, the Japanese Government granted as little as they could, with the predetermination of fulfilling that little as little as possible. To oppose these attempts by physical force was quite out of the question. The soldiers and retainers of the crown or nobility were armed only with bows and spears, and when we were at Nangasaki the guard rooms contained only these weapons. The Imperial Government, it is true, had been purchasing cannon and small arms from the Dutch, and latterly from the Americans.* The Prince of Satzuma and one or two other Princes have done likewise; but the men had to be instructed in the use of these weapons. Again, there were few or no fortresses, beyond a few mounds, which the first broadside of a frigate would have demolished, or a handful of marines taken at the bayonet. But this is now gradually changing. Four large forts, before

* The supercargo of the brig *Greta*, whom I met at the Amoor, sold, in 1855, at Simoda to the Japanese Government 10,000 muskets, at five dollars a piece. The bayonets, which were a dollar extra, they would not take, and they are still at Simoda. They took one, indeed, as a model, and soon afterwards manufactured themselves as many as they required.



Hanhart lith

CEMETERY OF THE NOBLES & PRINCES AT YEDO.

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mentioned, are in front of Yedo; one still larger, capable of holding several thousand men, and mounting some hundred cannon, is now on the point of completion at Hakodadi. Heavy batteries were in course of construction to defend the entrance of the bay of Nangasaki. Cannon have been largely purchased, and companies of men instructed in their use; the roar of these guns, and the continued rattle of small arms, could be distinctly heard during our stay in Yedo, the small arm practice being in close vicinity to the temple where we resided.

More than half the feudal princes are said to be against the new order of things, and to be dissatisfied with even the temporizing policy of the Imperial Government. They would willingly expel all foreigners from their ports, and abide the consequence. But the ruling men seem directed by a more acute policy; they hope to weary the patience of the traders, increase their expenses by delay, and so render all trade unprofitable; meanwhile, by temporizing, granting only what is absolutely necessary, fulfilling the words but not the spirit of the treaties, to keep out of difficulties with the foreigner as long as possible. At the same time they seek to strengthen their own forces after the manner of those they would have to oppose, in case of necessity, and to prevent as much as possible the too familiar intercourse of their own people with the strangers. Lastly, when they consider themselves capable of coping with their adversary, they will resist all further encroachments by force.

And the Japanese have a most exalted idea of their own courage and prowess. Their pageants and their

pictures keep in memory the deeds of their renowned heroes of former days. Their literature abounds in histories of celebrated men of battle, who fought bloody fights in their own country or carried dismay and death into remote regions. The Korea was conquered by one of their most famous Emperors. Their fleets have ravaged the coasts of China, and made descents and founded colonies in the island of Luzon. A band of their countrymen, hirelings and body-guard of a foreign despot, usurped in his very capital an influence equal only to that of the Prætorian Guards of declining Rome or the Mamelukes of Egypt. "As brave, yet as insolent as they, they at one time revolted, plundered the treasury, and made their escape. Esteemed for their courage more than either Mahometans or Malays, the Kings of Siam always employed them as their principal force. One King became jealous of them, and put to death all of the nation who were found in his kingdom." * All these events are known and treasured in the mind of every Japanese, noble or simple.

* Sir JOHN BOWRING'S *History of Siam.*

CHAPTER IX.

Landing in Yedo—The Temple Dai-ghoo-ghee—Carpenters—Removal of the Bonzes—Fire-proof safes for Valuables—Assault on Russian Officers—Stroll into the City—Manner of Buying—A ride through Yedo—Passage of a Great Man—Shops—Wards and Wardens—Curiosity and crowding of People—The two-sworded Boy—Objects of Curiosity—Landing and reception of Count Muravief—A Cyclone in Yedo—Murder of Russian Officer and Sailor—Causes and Consequence—Prevarication and probable Connivance of Authorities—Funeral—Remarks on the Murder—Correspondence with Government—Probable Consequences of this Murder—Americans in Japan.

No sooner had we landed in the long, narrow and dirty street, which extends for a great distance along the water's side, than the crowding multitude convinced me that a foreigner was not a usual sight in the capital of Nipon. Hundreds of men, women, and children, all of the lower classes, followed us, laughing, chattering, and making remarks on our costume. If we stopped, we were immediately hemmed in by a crowd, which, however, was respectful enough, and made way for us to pass. Proceeding up the street for nearly a mile, we reached an open road through which a stream flowed, and where apparently the better part of the city commenced. Here was a temple beautifully situated on a hillock, having a flight of stone steps leading to its precincts. Not far off was another, prettily placed in a little dell, with broad steps descending to it. This was the temple Dai-ghoo-gee, appointed

for the residence of General Count Muravief, during his diplomatic stay in Yedo. It was a large and spacious building, of the style already described, elaborately decorated with fine wood work, copper-castings, and curious carvings. Scores of half-naked carpenters were busy in the yard, sawing up planks, and transforming them like magic into various articles of European comfort, such as chairs, tables, &c., of which they had models before them. They are, I believe, the most expert joiners and workers in wood in the world. I long watched them and saw with pleasure their expertness in making chairs and tables, and other things which they had never perhaps seen before. Their tools, though differing from ours in form, are the same in principle, and the steel of which they are made could not be surpassed either in Birmingham or Sheffield. The interior of the temple was shorn of all its grandeur; altars and images were being removed; and forty or fifty fat and bald-headed bonzes were rustling here and there in their robes of silk, superintending the displacement of their household gods. The gold, silver, and other precious articles were taken to another temple, but the images, vestments, altars, and all other paraphernalia were deposited in a large safety-room in the temple itself. This safety-room was built of solid cement, hardened like marble; its walls were fully two feet thick, and its large folding doors of the same material were nearly a foot thick, and so heavy on their hinges that it required the strength of a robust man to shut or open them. They were fastened with a huge lock of ingenious construction, and further secured by ponderous bars.

The necessity of such strongholds and fire-proof repositories will be manifest to the reader, if he remember that all buildings are of wood, and that fires are constantly burning down whole acres of buildings. Every temple, and every merchant's storehouse, has one of these fire-proof compartments, in which their most valuable articles are stored.

The temple was divided into forty compartments or rooms, of different sizes, separated by sliding screens, so that these being removed, the whole would have formed one enormous hall. The floor was covered with the usual mats; the gardens at the back of the building were laid out in the usual style, with miniature shrubs, cropped into different forms, rocks, grottoes, dells, paths leading up tiny mountains, and limpid rocky pools containing gold and silver fish. The outbuildings in the courts were already occupied by Japanese officers, who superintended the workmen, and by another person, who established himself as a money-changer for the convenience of the officers.

Most of my companions stretched themselves on the soft mats, and after a regale on water melons and fruit, fell fast asleep; but a party of three started for an excursion into the interior of the city, and did not return till long after midnight. They had ventured some three or four miles into the heart of the place, and entered what they considered several houses of public resort, till at last finding the mob becoming rather offensive, they endeavoured to retrace their steps. After wandering some hours, they lost their way; hundreds of Japanese pressed around and jolted them, and at last a volley of stones succeeded. On

this they took refuge in what they thought the police station of the district, but they were driven out. Most probably it was a guard-room of one of the princes or nobility. At last they entered a building, where some Japanese officers welcomed them, dispersed the mob, and brought them food. In the few words of the language which they knew, they explained their position, and having rested themselves, were conducted back to the temple by one of the officers.

The next day the Russian officers made the affair known to Count Muravief, who complained to the authorities, and the officer of the district and his lieutenant were, so it was said, degraded from their rank and employ, as a punishment, according to Japanese law, for the crime committed under their jurisdiction. This proceeding was to lead in a few days to a still more unpleasant and fatal occurrence.

The Russian consul kindly offering me a room in the temple, I took up my abode there for a few days. Towards evening I wandered alone for two or three miles into the city, and amused myself in entering shops and looking over the wares. On one or two occasions I came across articles which I desired to buy, but on a remark being made by some officer among the crowd, the shopman refused to let me have them, or rather he immediately asked such a ridiculous price for the trifle, as amounted to the same thing. The next time, therefore, that I saw anything I wished to purchase, I carelessly asked the price, and on getting an answer, put down the money, took up the thing, and left the shop. This called forth opposition from the same officer and the shopman, but to no pur-

pose, and thus I was able to buy one or two curiosities. I found the mob that crowded round me respectful, and my manner of purchasing seemed to amuse them, for they laughed heartily. Only on one occasion that evening did I meet with anything like incivility, and then I was not certain if it was intended as such or not. Having entered a large building filled with men and women, which I took for a saki or tea-house, I received a quantity of water on my head, of which I took no notice, but sat down with a party and drank tea with them. When I left, it was quite dark, but as the shops were still open, and the streets light, I continued my walk, until two Japanese gentlemen came up to me and advised me to return to the temple, as it would not be prudent, they signified, to venture any farther in the direction I was going. Thinking this good advice, although I as yet knew nothing of the violence used towards other officers, I retraced my steps.

The next morning, I accompanied the consul on horseback, palanquins following us after the fashion of the great in Japan, to make a more extended visit into the city. The horses here were different from those of Hakodadi; fiery little compact animals, well groomed and taken care of; with saddles of lacquered wood ornamented with gilding, embroidered saddle cloths, and large shoe-like stirrups of iron: a runner accompanied each horse. On issuing into a main street leading into the heart of the city, we were obliged to draw up on one side, to allow the passage of one of the ministers who was about to pay a visit on board the frigate. The cortège of a great man in

Japan forms quite a procession. First come lictors with gilded spears and pikes, then men with great black boxes slung on poles, resembling the milliners' boxes one sometimes sees borne about London to the abodes of fashion, but in Japan they contain papers, documents, and such like. Then comes the great man's horse, richly caparisoned in red and blue, with silken bridle and gay trappings, led by two grooms; more lictors, more black boxes, and at last the palanquin of bamboo with bamboo blinds, through which the great man peeps, if there happen to be anything unusual in the road, such for instance as a pair of barbarians on horseback; more black boxes and more lictors bring up the rear. When the great man issues from his abode, the lictors rush out first, brandish their pikes, and cry, *Suaro! Suaro!* (Sit down! Sit down!) Immediately the people, hearing the well-known cry, squat down on the ground, bringing their hams and thighs together, and throwing all the weight of the body on the toes. The ordinary mode of sitting is nearly the same, only the soles of the feet support that part of the body which Europeans deposit upon a chair. The same mark of respect is shown the great man all along the road, and on his leaving the palanquin.

After passing several palaces of the nobility, and the beautiful residence of the governor, enclosed in fine gardens, we reached a broad street, which extends nearly the whole length of Yedo, broken by squares and other open places, and by the bridges which cross the rivers. This street contained some of the finest shops in Yedo; one, a silk and stuff warehouse, was

twice the size of the large draper's shop in Waterloo Place, London. A large mat-covered platform, on which were piles of goods, shopmen seated and clerks making up accounts, occupied the centre. On the edge of the platform sat the purchasers, among them a two-sworded gentleman here and there, but, as in other lands, the ladies were the most interested in examining silks, crapes, and embroidery. The generality of houses in the capital are little superior to those in other parts; they are mostly of pine wood, of only one story, and unpainted; many, however, in Yedo, as in Nangasaki, are built of harder wood, have an upper story to hold goods, and a few can boast of some little external decorations. The tea and other large houses of public entertainment are exceptions, having generally capacious apartments above. Earthquakes and fires are of such constant occurrence that great stability, decoration, or loftiness is not considered. The streets are divided into wards enclosed by gates, on either side of which are little wooden guard-houses, with openings so contrived that their inmates have a clear view of all that passes in the street on either side. All is under strict municipal law. Besides the regular officers of each district, every inhabitant must take his turn of duty as watchman, and each ward is reponsible for all unlawful acts committed within its boundaries. This is so throughout every town and village in Japan, and it is very seldom that crimes are committed without instant detection. In the street through which we rode, these wards extended only about one hundred yards from gate to gate, and the side streets seemed portioned off in the same manner.

We rode too fast to permit of a crowd thronging us; nevertheless our presence caused an unusual excitement. The shop doors were crowded, grave two-sworders stopped and even turned round to gaze after us; a few old women hobbled away slightly alarmed, and many young ones looked on with curious eyes. But on our dismounting and entering a shop, a crowd of some hundreds immediately collected round the door, and as there were none of the officials present whose ostensible duty it was to protect us, it became at last very disagreeable. The shopkeeper, on one occasion, made a barrier of rope around his house to keep off the multitude; on another, at a china shop, the master set two of his men to take our horses and clear the crowd with their heels, which was done quite efficiently. But at last a band of "gamins," like mischievous little imps as they are in all countries, began to hoot and cry, and throw little pieces of mud at us. The gesticulations of the shopmen were in vain; the fun seemed to spread from the boys to the grown-up people; there was nobody near of sufficient rank to influence the people, and we began to be threatened with serious annoyance. But a little champion soon rescued us. This was a little fellow about fourteen years old; but his two swords, one of which was almost as big as himself, and his silk and crape dress, must have informed the mob of his rank, for when he took up a stick and laid it about the persons in the foreground, the whole mass fell back without a murmur. They were as submissive to that two-sworded child, as a flock of sheep to a shepherd. He followed us into one or two other shops and pro-

tected us from any further annoyance. In most of the shops we were taken up into an upper chamber, and after some fruit, tea, and sweetmeats were set before us, and we were fanned cool by attendant boys and maidens, we proceeded to view the wares. Anything purchased was sent after us to the temple, and in every transaction there always seemed to be some combination between the merchant and an officer who made his appearance at the moment. The compact, as I afterwards heard, concerned how much of the profits the latter should receive. We found all manufactures much dearer in Yedo than in Yokahama, but there were many curiosities to be found in the former place which the Japanese no doubt thought could not be of any interest to Europeans, compared with silks, lacquer boxes, porcelain, and such like. Among these were ivory and wood carvings, objects made of rock crystal, and numerous articles of virtu.

On the 22nd of August, everything being ready in the temple for the reception of Count Muravief, that personage and his suite left the frigate at 11 o'clock, amid a general salute from all the ships. On shore a battalion of seamen were drawn up to receive him under the command of a colonel of the guards, his aide-de-camp. The Governor of Yedo and other high officers were also present to welcome him to their city. Horses and palanquins had been provided for all the persons of the suite. The procession was headed by an amateur band of the frigate, then followed the sailors, then the count and his staff, followed by all the officers of the ships who could be spared from duty. Everything was done to make the march and reception as effective

and impressive as possible. Thousands of Japanese of both sexes thronged the sides of the narrow street, preserving perfect order. On arriving at the temple, the men were formed in double line, the band struck up a national air, the officers and men saluted, as the count and his suite passed through into the interior. Here a grand collation was offered him by the governor, consisting, as such repasts generally do, of various sorts of fish, with soy, unpalatable jellies, divers little pieces of vegetable substance, of which the most unusual were sea-weed and pieces of young bamboo, either *au naturel* or as pickles; then fish-soups not at all bad, rice jellies, sponge cakes, and a curious collection of sweetmeats. For drink, there were little porcelain bottles filled with different kinds of saki, sweet like wine, or strong as spirit. All the meats were served, as usual, on black trays, in black lacquered bowls. Each person had his tray with half a dozen black bowls to himself; knives and forks were not; simple chop-sticks of deal or cedar supplied their place. I, who had been running about the city, was in no condition to present myself amid such glittering company, so I viewed the whole proceedings at my ease through an opening in the sliding panels which divided the apartments. After the Japanese had departed, the Commodore introduced me to the Governor-General, who kindly invited me to take up my abode in the temple during our stay.

The next day it came on to blow so hard that there could be no communication with the shore. In fact, it was one of those cyclones or circular storms which commit such fearful ravages in the China seas and

the West Indies. The evening before the weather had been lowering, calm, and rainy, but the barometer stood high. In the morning it had fallen nearly an inch, the wind increasing, with deluges of rain. At ten o'clock it was 29·22, and two hours afterwards it was only 28·98. The air was thick with the sheets of water which fell, and which the fast-recurring squalls from the N.E. drove almost horizontally across the bay. Meanwhile the wind veered round to east, and at 4 P.M. was nearly south, the barometer being 28·71. It then suddenly fell calm for nearly three hours: there was scarcely a breath of air, and the mercury began to rise. But at eight o'clock the wind recommenced with such fearful gusts from S.W. that although we had the two best anchors out with fifty and seventy fathoms of cable, our depth being only twenty-four feet, the ship began to drag. The waters of the bay were lashed up into such waves as I should have thought impossible in so confined a space. After midnight the hurricane had expended itself, and the wind had passed round thirty points of the compass, being at last north. There is little doubt but that about 8 P.M. the centre of the cyclone passed over us. No injury was done to any of the European-built shipping in Yedo, and no junks were near us; but at Yokahama the United States surveying schooner *Fennimore Cooper*, anchored in 3½ fathoms, so it was said, was so bumped on the bottom, that the officer in command slipped the cable and ran her ashore, where she was found to be too much injured for repair. Every assistance was given her by the authorities, and her chronometers and her valuable charts, the

labour of months of survey, were fortunately saved. Houses were given to the officers and men, where we shall presently find them. Numbers of junks were here driven about and stranded.

We had felt several shocks of earthquake two or three days preceding this storm, and the morning following it another more severe, accompanied by a rolling wave which advanced far up the beach and filled the boats drawn up there with water and sand. The whole bay for days after the cyclone was the colour of chocolate, and quantities of fish were thrown up on the shores. Some damage, but not very severe, was done to the houses in the city. I mention this storm the more particularly, because I have seen it remarked in works of authority, that these disastrous storms do not extend so far north as the latitude of Yedo.

On the 26th of August, the doctor and myself had just hoisted the sail of our boat, and were flying fast towards the town, when a signal made us turn about and return on board. A letter had just been received with the melancholy information that a disturbance had taken place at Yokahama, and that a sailor had been killed, and an officer and another sailor badly wounded. A boat had left the day before, with two officers, for Yokahama, to buy provisions, and I had been on the point of accompanying them, but was dissuaded from it. Our doctor was immediately ordered off, and an armed boat's crew despatched to the spot. Anxious to know the particulars, I joined the little expedition. After a sail of two hours over the shallow side of the bay, we reached the harbour of Yokahama,

and on seeing the flags of the vessels half-mast high our worst apprehensions were confirmed. The officer had died at two o'clock the same morning. On landing, we were met by the officer who survived, and by nearly all the European inhabitants, armed with revolvers. Gloom and horror pervaded every countenance; business was not thought of; all the shops were closed; and even the groups of natives in the streets seemed mournful and horrified, as they held aloof. On landing we all moved to the house where the bodies lay. Of course the doctor could do nothing. The wounded man was removed to the boat, which was immediately despatched back with full particulars.

These are as follow:—On the preceding evening, at eight o'clock, a lieutenant, the commodore's steward, and a sailor, carrying a canvas bag, containing dollars and itsheboos, had just left a shop, where they had been making purchases. Not twenty paces from the door, the steward heard the lieutenant cry out, "Save yourselves—I am murdered," or words to that effect. The steward, looking round, saw his officer and a sailor in conflict with a Japanese, and a sword uplifted to strike him down. He bounded away, followed by the Japanese. Feeling, instinctively no doubt, that the man was making a cut at him, he raised his arm to guard his head; the blow descended, was turned aside by his cloth cap, which slipped off his head, but struck the arm, and nearly severed the bone. He had just time to rush into a shop as another blow followed, but the master of the house pulled him in, and so saved his life. A Japanese surgeon was sent

for, who sewed up the wound most scientifically, and treated it as well, our doctor said, as could have been done in any European hospital.

Some American sailors of the shipwrecked schooner were near the spot at the time, and immediately gave what assistance they could to the wounded. Presently the Russian officer arrived, and his wounded comrade was conveyed to a house. The sailor was dead already. The wounds inflicted on them were most ghastly; the sailor's skull was cleft in two places; both his shoulder-blades cut through deep into the back; the joints of the elbows severed; the thigh cut through to the bone; and, not content with this, the miscreants must have pierced him through the back when down. The poor young officer, with whom I had been very intimate, and who was universally loved for his amiable disposition, was little less severely wounded, and it is astonishing with what tenacity he clung to life. His brain was protruding from a skull wound: he had received the same sort of cuts in the shoulder-blades as the sailor, so that the lung and (lower down) the entrails were laid bare; and there were other cuts, not mortal. He was, of course, unable to give any particulars of the attack; all his thoughts, poor fellow, seemed centred in his mother and his home. An American surgeon bound up his wounds, and paid him all possible but hopeless attention, as did also all the Europeans without exception. He preserved his senses to the last, and expired about two o'clock in the morning. This was the first murder committed by Japanese on a foreigner since the opening of the country to the latter.

The steward affirmed that there were several persons, six or eight, concerned in the murder; but he was so terrified that he may have been deceived in the number. That at least there were three, was evident from the fact of our men being all attacked at the same moment. The bag containing the silver was carried off, and was found a few days afterwards in the neighbourhood; the Japanese money only had been taken, the dollars were left. A piece of a sword, about four inches in length, a fragment of the over-robe worn by officers, no doubt torn off by one of the unfortunate men in his struggles, and a straw sandal, were found near the spot. Unfortunately there was no badge or distinguishing mark of clan upon the fragment of dress which could give a clue to the wearer. On our visiting the place a few hours afterwards, two pools of blood, barely covered with gravel, showed that the unfortunate men must have been struck down on the spot, and lain there as they fell. Near where the sailor fell, the post of a stall was daubed with blood, and had a piece struck out of it by a descending weapon; this was probably the way in which the sword was broken. I have already mentioned what formidable weapons these swords are: heavy, and sharp as razors, they sever all they come in contact with, and the first blow is pretty sure to disable, if not to kill outright.

The Governor was no sooner informed of the murder than he hastened from Kanagawa to Yokahama, and sent messengers to the Consuls of the three Powers, to acquaint them with the event, and beg their immediate presence. The English and Dutch Consuls were

immediately on the spot; the American Consul did not arrive for some hours afterwards. The Governor requested to know what steps were to be taken, when the two Consuls informed him that the first thing must be to catch the murderers; and to accomplish this, the roads should be scoured by parties of police, no junks should be allowed to leave unless visited, and all the shops should be closed for the present. These wishes the Governor promised should be strictly fulfilled; but the promise does not seem to have been kept. His Excellency, I was informed, treated the matter with levity, and laughed at it; but I am inclined to think that the Consuls were mistaken, as that peculiar contortion of the mouth, and inhalation of the breath, which is peculiar to a Japanese when he listens attentively and has understood you, sounds and seems very much like a giggle. Besides, his gravity and good breeding, both of which are eminently characteristic of an official grandee, would have prevented the Governor from showing any sign of pleasure, even if he felt it. There is no doubt, however, that he neglected causing proper steps to be taken to capture the guilty parties. On the previous affair in Yedo being mentioned to him, and the probability being suggested that the degraded officers might be the guilty parties, he affirmed that one or both of them had been seen in the neighbourhood a few days before; but when, later in the day, the same subject was mentioned, he denied knowing or having said anything about these men, but kept on averring, nevertheless, that all steps were being taken to trace them.

The American Consul, on his arrival, made matters

worse, by informing the Governor that such murders were of constant occurrence in Europe and America, and that the murderer was often never traced—a gratuitous piece of information which, however true it might be as to parts of the United States, was certainly much out of place to relate under present circumstances. He also objected to one proceeding of the other two Consuls—viz. stopping the trade for a time; and in this he was joined by many of his countrymen. However allowable it may be in diplomacy to exalt oneself and one's country at the expense of one's neighbour, still there are cases when opposition ought to be smothered by humanity; and this was one in which all civilized powers should have been of accord, as there could be no knowing on whom of another nation the next barbarous act might be committed, and it was essential to common safety that the actors of the first atrocious deed should be brought to condign punishment. Respected as the gentleman of whom I speak is among all classes, I can but suppose that his words were spoken inconsiderately; but that they also had a bad effect, and even impeded the course of justice, I can hardly doubt.

There were several Japanese present in the vicinity, who were witnesses of the deed, but no serious attempt was made to seize the murderers, who disappeared in the darkness. One man related that he caught hold of one of them, but that the fellow raised his sword to strike him down, when he let him go. The guardian of the ward acknowledged seeing the whole transaction; on being asked why he did not interfere, he replied that he had strict orders, on any disturbance

between Japanese and foreigners, not to do so, but to report the circumstance directly to the officer at the Comptoir or Government-house. If the parties had been all Japanese, he said, he should have interfered; but as there were foreigners concerned, he had obeyed the orders given him by his superiors. A few days later, the Government offered to condemn this man to capital punishment as an atonement; but, of course, this was flatly refused, as he had evidently only obeyed orders, and his chief fault was the omission to watch the murderers. The general opinion was that the murderers must have been recognized by some of the bystanders, but that the Governor either would not or could not have them arrested, and that they were permitted to escape.

Later the same day, the young officer and I waited upon the Governor to make arrangements for the interment. We saw the second Governor, an acute-looking fellow, with a little black eye that sparkled with wit or cunning. He listened to all we said, assured us that strict search was making to apprehend the criminals, and that he would make every arrangement for the funeral on the morrow in a spot where some Russian sailors had already been buried. Then, after expressing his own and the Governor's great pain at having such a crime committed under their jurisdiction, he requested that the corpses might be visited by a party of Japanese surgeons and law-officers to draw up a report. Then, after many compliments and regrets, we took our leave. During the whole of the day, and till late at night, interpreters were constantly arriving with letters or messages of

condolence from the Governor, and polite inquiries as to the state of our feelings and health, which the interpreter expressed in most droll but execrable English, literally translated from his own flowery language. Baskets of fruit and sweetmeats were also sent to us, and the same to the guard which had been placed over the corpses.

Most of the European merchants were aghast at this murder: they declared that none of their lives were safe, and few went abroad without a revolver. Each had his own plan of what ought to be done: some were for burning the town down, others for attacking Yedo; one or two sensible ones proposed that the authorities should forbid their officials to wear their swords within the districts opened to foreigners. All expected that some severe act of retribution would, of course, be inflicted on the murderers if caught, but if not, on the Government, by the large Russian squadron in the neighbourhood, as a warning and a lesson that it would be called to account for the life of every foreigner by all European governments combined. All were anxious, therefore, to know what the Russians would do, to punish this, the first murder committed on one of their subjects, an unoffending officer in his uniform, peaceably walking along the street.

During the next night the Governor of Yedo arrived. He had been despatched by the Council immediately on the news of the murder being known in Yedo. The greatest alarm was manifested by all the Ministers as to what steps the Russian Governor would take. Two of the Japanese steam corvettes before mentioned

went off for a voyage during the night, as though the government thought they were not unlikely to be seized. Double attention was paid by all ranks of officials; matters which were difficulties before were now rendered quite easy; things were supplied which had before been refused. Meanwhile it was thought among the squadron that the affair would bring all diplomatic arrangements to a speedy close.

The following morning a corvette was found anchored broadside on, in front of the Government-house. Commodore Popoff had been sent to inquire into the affair, and to pay the last honours to the dead. The Governor was soon on board, and in an explanation which took place between them, the Governor mentioned that very often murders were never discovered in Japan, that his own brother had been brutally assassinated a few years before, and that up to that time nothing had ever been heard of the perpetrators. The Commodore remained more than a week in Yokahama, in the hope that the murderers would be caught, and that their execution on the place where the murder was committed would be an efficient example to the Japanese.

During his stay he received every assistance possible from the three Consuls. The services of Heko, a Japanese who had been in America, and was officially attached to the U. S. Consulate, were particularly valuable, as those of a faithful interpreter; for little dependence for accuracy or truth could be placed on those of the Japan Government. But the murderers were not discovered, and the opinion of all the Europeans who inquired into the affair was, that the

Governor was culpably negligent of the proper steps to bring them to justice, that most probably he knew who the guilty parties were, but that either he could not or would not produce them, for he was known to belong to that party of the nobility which is the most hostile to European ingress.

The funeral took place in the afternoon. The authorities had only provided cumbersome deal boxes for coffins, and the whole morning we had been occupied in covering them with silk, to make them as decent as possible. Two priests of the Greek Church were present; one hundred and thirty men were landed, with all the officers from the corvette. The Consuls or their representatives, the officers of the wrecked U. S. schooner, and the sailors, as well as nearly all the foreign residents, were present. The ceremony of the Greek Church is impressive. The priests chanted the service, and the sailors outside chanted the responses; each mourner held a lighted wax taper in his hand. The mass being finished, the Commodore entered the room, knelt for a moment by the corpses, and kissed the cold lips of each; all the late officer's comrades followed this example. They then bore the coffins themselves, the Commodore supporting one side, and the mournful procession took its way through the pretty village amid crowds of squatting Japanese, who had been ordered to attend. Many of the little moosoomee I saw were much affected, wiping their eyes and cheeks on their little pieces of paper, taken from the sleeve of their robes. All were very grave, and seemed much impressed by the ceremony. At the gates of a temple which we passed,

the corps of holy men, dressed out in their best raiment, lifted their joined hands as we passed. The Governor of Yedo and Kanagawa, and many of the chief officers in palanquins, were present. On the side of a little mount covered with trees, two shallow graves had been dug. The rest of the funeral service was here chanted, one last look given at the dead, the coffins were nailed down, and the unfortunate victims were soon covered up by the numerous Japanese who had till now been concealed behind the brushwood. Three volleys of musketry were then fired in the air by the sailors who were stationed a few paces off; minute guns had been all along fired from the corvette. I heard that after our departure, the bonzes of the neighbouring temple visited the graves, and prayed over them. A subscription was made to erect a becoming monument upon the spot in memory of the young officer and his companion in death.

Many causes have been assigned for this murder, both in Japan and in other countries; some even went so far as to make out a pretty little tragedy of love, jealousy, and revenge. Nothing of the sort; there was some likelihood in the report that the degraded Japanese officers, incensed at the loss of their position, had come to Yokahama with the intention of taking revenge on the first Russian they met; but had it been these men alone, the Government which had degraded them for a slight offence committed by others under their jurisdiction would not have hesitated to deliver them up for a murder committed with their own hands; or at least, if not given up alive, they would have been forced to execute justice on themselves, and

their bodies would have been shown as those of the murderers. That the Japanese are jealous of their honour and rank, and prone to revenge real or imaginary insults, is beyond a doubt; but only one or two were degraded, and there were at least five or six among the assassins. Robbery could hardly be the incentive, though the money-bag was taken off. The most probable explanation that can be given is this, that some personage, high in power, and adverse to all commerce with strangers, was at the bottom of the whole business; that the men who had been degraded were perhaps enlisted in the project, and other retainers added to them to commit the murder, in the hope that it would result in a rupture with at least one power among the foreigners.* Had ordinary persons alone been implicated, they would soon have been brought to justice; but the suspicion that men of higher mark were concerned seems strongly confirmed by the prevarications of the Governor of Yokahama, who was well known to be inimical to strangers. This man had some time before intimated to the Consuls, that it would be better that their countrymen should not stir out after dark, and the reply was that if the Imperial Government could not protect them, they would find means to protect themselves.*

The Governor-General of Eastern Siberia being

* I have seen another reason given for the assassination, viz. that it became known that the Russians wanted to take Sagalien, and that the murder was an exhibition of popular fury. The conferences with the Government were only opened on the day of the murder, and it was then first that the Japanese Government knew the object of General Muravief's mission.

present, the affair was quite taken out of the hands of the commanders of the fleet. Nothing was done to enforce satisfaction, and I very much doubt, even if those in command had the power to proceed to extremities, that they would have been justified in so doing; for there is every reason to suppose that if the murder was a political one, those charged with the administration of government were not privy to it, or had their hands completely tied from bringing the parties to justice. And if to enforce this the Russian Governor had burnt the town, taken the ships, or done aught else, some one or two inferior persons would have been obliged to rip themselves open, or three or four poor guiltless men would have been publicly executed, after the manner of Chinese justice. It is hard to say what more could have been done than was done. The Government professed regret and willingness to search out the murderers, redoubled its politeness, humbled itself a little, and all was finished. Brutal retaliation could not be practised by a civilized power, however much civilized men in the heat of their fear and horror may have advocated it. But it is no less certain that such a crime, the first one too, remaining unpunished, will be a bad precedent, and that others of a similar nature are likely to follow, which will lead to a general retaliation at last.*

* Since my return to Europe, I find that this has actually come to pass. In the beginning of the present year (1860), two captains of merchant-ships were also murdered in Yokahama, and the relations of foreigners with the Japanese were daily becoming more hazardous. The captain of the Russian transport *Japonitz* wrote home, that he had been obliged to send on shore every day an armed patrol to protect foreign residents, and that he had done so at the

To finish the sad story, when we left Yedo nothing had been discovered, and the frigate *Ascolde* remained behind for awhile to further investigate the affair, as well as to afford protection to foreign residents, who considered their lives and property in danger, until the arrival of a French man-of-war in the port enabled the *Ascolde* to sail for Europe. Still, a feeling of the greatest insecurity prevailed, and for more than a month afterwards all foreigners went fully armed, with the exception, I heard, of Americans. The English Consul, it is said, ordered all English citizens to go armed, as threats had been made against them by the Japanese. Both the English and Dutch Consuls also appeared armed in all their interviews with the authorities, implying thereby their feeling of insecurity. The Americans, however, so they say themselves, would not follow this example, and gained thereby much favour both with the authorities and the people; but on the arrival of the frigate *Powhattan* shortly afterwards, a fight took place between the Japanese and American sailors, who also were armed, and one of the former was killed. This circumstance must have wrought a change in the feelings of those most cunning of all hypocrites, the Japanese officials, towards their good friends. Americans may write home reports, and American newspapers may spread them—

request of the Governor himself. The Consuls, who ought, under such circumstances, to reside near those whose interests it is their duty to protect, live some five miles away from Yokahama, at Kanagawa, where the Governor also resides, so that some hours elapse before any of them can be on the spot, in case of serious disturbance.

reports of the love borne by Japanese and Chinese to American citizens personally, and of the great diplomatic success of the latter; but the fact is, that they and their diplomacy are as much hated by both Chinese and Japanese as are those of any European nation.

CHAPTER X.

Return to Yedo—Manner of Fishing—Ride through Yedo to the Village of Oodzee—Visitors and their Escort—Moveable Houses and Shops—Tea-House at Oodzee—A universal Pastime—Walks in the City—Wardens—Dangerous Streets—Guard Houses—Houses of Feudal Princes—Temples—Christianity in Japan—Missionaries, and their probable Success—Shopping—Strolls—Population estimated—Life in the Temple—Sketch of the Inmates, &c.—Anecdotes—Result of Mission—Departure from Yedo—Storms and Winds on Niphon Coast—Straits of T'zúgár—Great Japanese Feast—Processions, &c.—Ainos or Hairy Kuriles—Public Music and Dancing.

We returned to Yedo in the middle of the night that followed the burial of the murdered men. The morning broke without a breath of wind, and found our cutter near the low sandy banks which line the shore between the bay of Kanagawa and the imperial city. Hundreds of the sharp-prowed, wide-sterned, flat boats of the fishermen were busy along the coast; some shooting through the water, propelled by their naked crews, to distant fishing-grounds; others stationary, and occupied in paying out their nets.

Their mode of fishing was curious. The water on the bank over which they worked varied from some three to five feet in depth. Two boats, containing between them one net a hundred fathoms in length, started from one point, each giving out the net as they diverged from one another in a circular direction. When they had completed about half a circle they

stopped; some twenty men, up to their necks or chests in water, formed a half circle before the opening of the nets, and advanced towards it, beating the water with bamboo poles, and driving the fish before them; the boats then payed out the rest of the circle of their nets, and the draught of fishes of all sizes was abundant. The chief among them was a large species of prawn, which, cooked in the Japanese manner, is of delicious flavour, and forms a favourite dish in their repasts.

The following morning I accompanied a large party on horseback to visit the village of Oodzee, situated on the opposite side of the town. A larger guard of Japanese officers had been placed at the temple, and, as I expected, orders had been given that a native officer should accompany any one of us who wished to enter the town. Our cavalcade was therefore attended by three officers dressed in blue and puce-coloured silk, and military hats of black lacquered paper, in form something like a Roman shield, and ornamented with gilding. Conspicuous among our party was the giant frame of Prince D——, a Circassian prince, aide-de-camp of General Muravief. He was dressed in the costume of his country—a long robe of white silk, with the bandolier for ball cartridges descending from the shoulders on either side to the waist; his broad chest was like that of a Hercules, and his head the noblest type of physical beauty of all the human race. He was, indeed, the finest specimen I ever saw of the animal man. He excited as much the astonishment and awe of the Japanese crowds through which we passed, as he did the admiration of his own race.

Hanhart, lith.

EMPEROR'S SPORTING QUARTERS, AT ODJI.

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The Japanese officers had hard work to keep under their eye the wild flock which was given them to guard. Put a sailor of any nation on a horse, and it would require much exertion to keep him quiet; so no sooner had we entered the long street before mentioned than half the party had disappeared far in advance. Myself and one or two others lingered behind, entering shops, seeking curiosities, and examining everything that had a novel appearance. The Japanese are fond of building little moveable wooden houses, varying in size from a box capable of holding two or three persons to a four-roomed cottage. If a police office, a guard-room, or anything of the sort, is required at a moment's notice, one of these little houses is transported or rolled to the spot. Pedlars' stalls, cake shops, travelling hostelries, where saki, rice, or macaroni, fish soup, stewed fish, seaweed, and bamboo, are always ready served, may be seen in most of the large towns and great highways. The street through which we were passing contained many of them, whose owners dealt in tobacco-pipes, pouches, pocket-books, needzgee, and other articles of use or curiosity. Examining the varied contents of these stalls, we were soon left far behind, but met with perfect civility everywhere.

We crossed one or two more bridges, of simple woodwork, which spanned muddy rivers, busy with life. Their banks, as far as the eye could reach, were covered with wharves or timber-yards, where boats were built and boards cut for the construction of houses. We skirted the moat and walls which surround the inner city, the residence of the Tykoon and his clan, whose palace-roof was said to be of pure gold,

while in truth the building is of wood, with plenty of copper about it, and is more remarkable for size than for any external beauty. But we were not allowed to enter the precincts of his Japanese Majesty's walled city; so we passed on, through street after street, over bridge after bridge, for about twelve miles, when the city seemed to terminate in a long, shady street, with fields on either side. A few miles farther on, having mounted an eminence, we saw a stream flowing through a beautiful valley, and on its banks, embosomed in trees, a few temples and houses. This was Oodzee, and there we were conducted by the Japanese officer into a large commodious tea-house, inhabited by some thirty young girls. The establishment was thrown into confusion by our unexpected arrival, and messengers were sent off for fresh fish and other provisions. Meanwhile the handmaidens officiously pulled off our boots, fanned us cool, brought in water, saki, or whatever else they could, and then retired to help the elders in the cooking department, or to attend to some Japanese company who were regaling behind one of the paper partitions.

Beneath the balcony of our saloon flowed the stream, in which a few youthful Japanese of both sexes were floundering about. "Throw some money in the water and let them hunt for it," said one of the party; and then commenced that edifying mode of killing time, which seems universal, whether in the mud of the Thames, the crystal rivers of other countries, or on the coral ledges of the great ocean. Scores of young and old speedily gathered to the spot; splashing, shrieking, laughing; all was merriment and good-

Hanhart, lith.

PUBLIC GARDENS AT ODJI.

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humour, till the arrival of some man sent them flying in all directions. But like birds about a field of newly-sown grain, they had only gained the next cover, to rush out again to their sport, as soon as the man's back was turned. Several grave Japanese looked on with most profound disgust at seeing officers so familiar with those beneath them in rank; for in Japan class means caste: none can be trespassed on by the other; the inferior must be servile to his superior; the superior never familiar with those beneath him.

After a dinner of mixed Japanese and European cookery, we rambled about the pretty village, visiting temples and private houses, in which the usual pipe and tea were offered. From the top of a grassy mound we saw a broad plain stretching miles away to the mountains, covered with fields of grain and rice, sheltered by hedgerows and shrubs, many of which were probably the varnish-tree and the tea-plant. In the cool of the evening we rode back through the city, and I took up my abode in the temple during the rest of our stay.

Every day I made some excursion in different directions of the town, either alone, or attended by an officer. If alone, I never proceeded many yards before a crowd collected and followed my steps. When I entered a street or ward, the wardens on duty came out of their houses, marched before me jingling their iron rods of office, and conducted me thus to the next ward or street, where others took their place. The wardens are shopkeepers or others, taking their turn of duty in rotation, and responsible for the time for the good order of their ward. Their badge of office

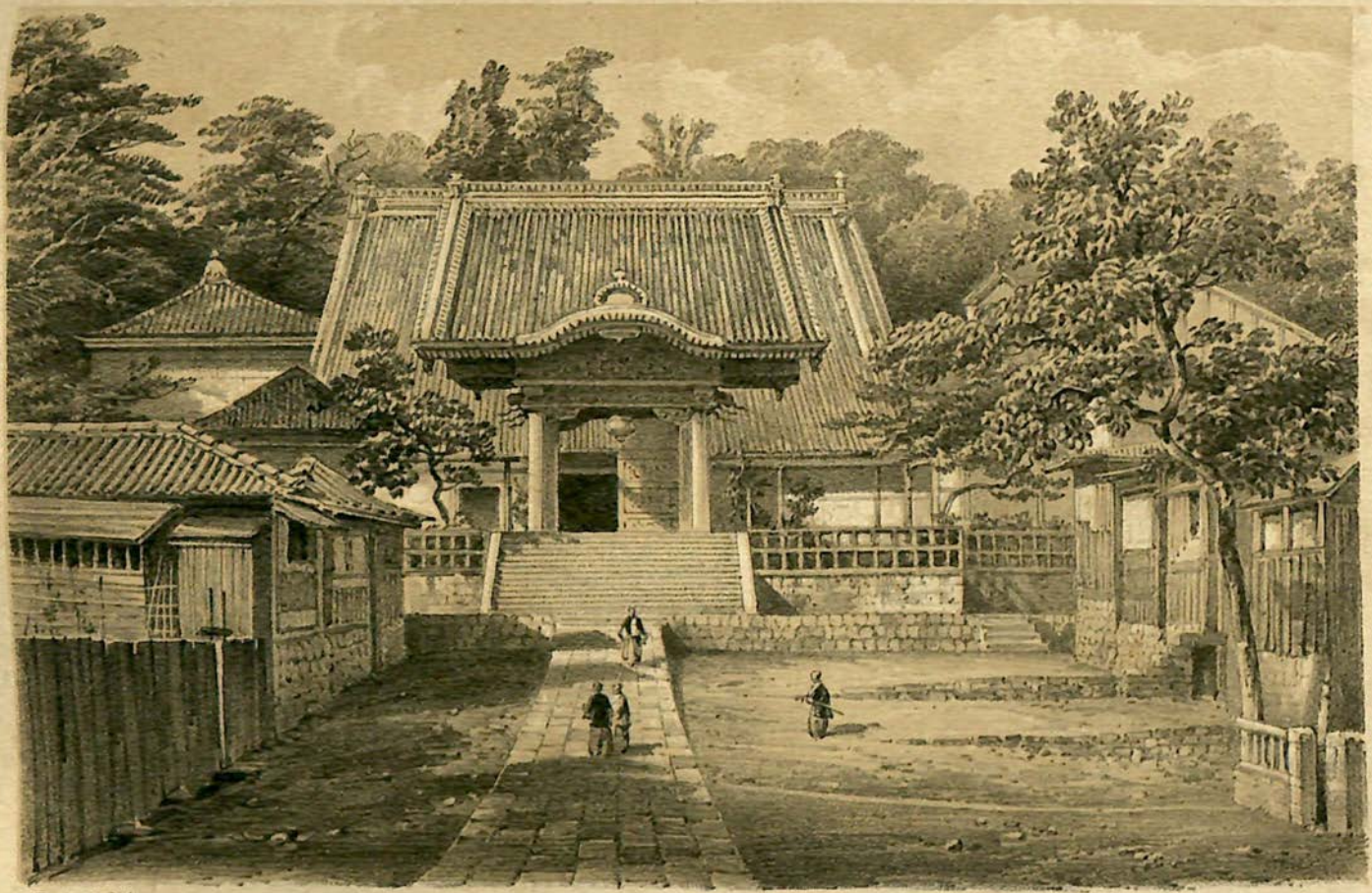
is an iron bar five feet long, having two rings at the top, which make a loud jingling as they strike the rod on the ground at every step, warning all evil-doers of their approach. The little guard-house at the gates of the ward are occupied by men with two swords, officers either of the police or of the imperial army. There they sit on their soles, before their tobacco-boxes, smoking a little, nodding a little, drinking now and then a little cup of tea, or writing down the reports of messengers, the transactions of their post, or whatever they may observe, ordinary or extraordinary, in the street. I have often entered their little boxes, taken a cup of tea, smoked a pipe, and amused them and myself by the various methods we took of understanding one another. Sometimes I found one surly, and perhaps not desirous of my company, but it was very rare. What ceremonies, prostrations, etiquette I there observed! What bending of backs, rubbing of knees, strong whistling inhalations of the breath, and untiring jabber of tongues! The change of guard was a long job, each party trying to outdo the other with obsequious politeness before they came to business; when that was completed, the raiment had to be arranged, the two swords placed jauntily in the obe or silk scarf worn round the waist, the various under dresses folded more gracefully over the naked bosom, the target hat placed on the head, or the fan outspread; and then the gallant gentleman would take up his book, spend another five minutes in parting salutations to his successor, ere he shuffled off to report, and then home, or to the tea-house.

Conspicuous among all the buildings of Yedo are

the houses of the feudal princes and high noblemen. They seem to be situated in every part of the city, sometimes two or three adjoining, sometimes far apart from each other. Some I saw covered three or four acres of ground, and most of them were in the form of a square. Dirty ditches varying in width surrounded them, filled with black filth from the houses, and giving out an intolerable stench in warm weather. Their contents are from time to time emptied into casks, as is all other domestic refuse, and conveyed to the rice-fields and plantations. In Japan no fertilizing principle is thrown away; chemical agriculture, though perhaps unknown in theory, is largely practised. The outer walls of these buildings are of stone at the base, but have the upper parts of wood. Barred windows are placed at intervals, where men, women, and children may be seen gazing abroad. These exterior buildings would seem to be the dwellings of the retainers and servants. The gates are of massive hard wood, ornamented with copper bolts, the decorations and fastenings being of the same metal. Inside are two little boxes, guard-houses, in which the swords of the officers are neatly arranged on racks, and pikes, bows and arrows, and sometimes muskets, along the walls. Here I generally found an officer on duty, as in the public guard-houses of the city; but he would be an officer of the nobleman, and not of the crown. All retainers, whether officers, doctors, wrestlers, soldiers, or serfs, wear the coat of arms of their lord printed on their dress, be it the silk or crape of the two-sworded follower, or the coarse blue cotton of the inferior caste. In the interior of those noble-

men's houses which I saw, was a large quadrangle resembling a barrack yard, in some part of which was a building of better construction, probably the residence of the lord when in town, and of his hostage-wife when he is absent on duty in other parts of the empire. I made many attempts to penetrate into these, but was always most politely refused admittance. They allowed me, however, to look over all other portions of the building. There seemed to be an immense number of retainers with their wives and children living in these barracks of the nobility.

There are many very interesting temples in Yedo, situated in little nooks or on shady mounds, and free admittance into them all was granted us. It was only necessary to put off the shoes from your feet, not at all on account of the sanctity of the place, but to avoid soiling the mats. The bonzes mostly were barefooted. Many of the altars were most richly decorated. Idols wrought out of the precious metals; images cut in curious stone highly polished; slabs and globes of rock crystal; rich embroidery in gold, silver, and coloured silks, were tastefully arranged on the altar pieces of grotesquely carved wood. Here and there around the walls were huge and hideous deities, and sometimes there were near the door posts with little racks containing slips of paper covered with written characters, apparently the offerings of anxious votaries. Behind the temple resided the bonzes attached to its service, and what a listless lazy existence theirs must be! It may be with some that in their contemplative repose, their minds are concentrated in trying to fathom the unfathomable; yet with the greater part of them, I



Hanhart, lith

EMPEROR'S TEMPLE AT YEDO.

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should imagine, their repose is but torpor and forgetfulness, the dozing effects of a slow and easy digestion.

I was informed that a short time before our arrival, emissaries had been sent from the Mikado, or spiritual head of the church, throughout the parts frequented by foreigners, to warn the bonzes against any attempts of the Christians to convert the natives; for Christianity is to the Government synonymous with rebellion. The intrigues of the Spanish and Portuguese, and the revolt of the Christian population in the Island of Kiusu in the sixteenth century, are not forgotten. The rebellion in China, of men professing some faint and distorted copy of our faith, must have been followed with eager minds by the Japanese Government. Well may the prospect of any social revolution be dreaded by men whose greatest virtue is the reverence for antiquity; and since Christianity is now more than ever blended with their ideas of revolution, the Government will do its utmost to keep it out.

Yet Christian missionaries have already entered the field. An American gentleman accompanied us to Yedo from Yokahama, but was advised to return to that place by his Consul, as by the treaty the capital city would not be opened generally to foreigners until the 1st January, 1860. Others, I heard, were soon to follow him from St. Francisco.* The *Société pour la*

* A few months later at San Francisco, I attended a lecture given by an intending missionary, who was accompanied by a poor shipwrecked Japanese. His lecture commenced, *secundum artem*, by well abusing the Romanists. He thence proceeded to a relation of his own call. He had been a foremast man of Perry's expedition, and on his return felt that he had received a call to preach the

Propagation de la Foi will, no doubt, not be long absent, and adventurous priests, having learned the language, will endeavour to penetrate in disguise into the heart of the country. It will be, I am afraid, a repetition of the Chinese missions—persecutions, imprisonment, and death, expostulation and retaliations by European Governments, and not enough good done to compensate for the evil. But if missions are to be established in this country, and the pious of Western countries are to support them, it is to be hoped for their success that only one denomination of Christian missionaries will be employed; for if Puritan and Papist come together on mission ground, it will be a commingling of fire and water. In Japan especially, where all classes except the lowest may be said to have no religion at all, and where all are educated, sceptical, and sarcastic, any rivalry between those who attempt to introduce a new religion will at once preclude whatever chance there possibly might be of conversion.

Although the temple was every day crowded with merchants who brought beautiful specimens of their wares, in lacquer, china, or tapestry, to sell at extra-

Gospel to the Japanese. His logic was sublime. "I waited," said he, "till I received promises of support to the amount of 1,000 dollars a year, and then I started off." His unfortunate follower then sang a song in Japanese, and he himself related a few half-fabulous anecdotes about the Japanese. Now faith may work wonders, but in our age it must be accompanied by high capabilities and arduous training, and to convert Japanese to Christianity requires powers superior to those needed for camp-meetings or tea-party preaching. And, I think, it is due to those charitable persons who give their money and prayers towards a good object, that suitable persons, at least, should be chosen to carry out their intentions.

vagant prices, I always preferred a stroll into the city, and a visit to the shops, not always to purchase, but, after the manner of idle people in all civilized lands, to look and admire. The Japanese shopmen seem so accustomed to that practice, that, like our Londoners, "it don't at all matter" with them whether you buy or not. As yet that feeling is genuine enough in Yedo. They will set their little ones to fan you as you sprawl on the mat of their warehouse, themselves will present you tea, sugared water, melons, and slices of their tasteless pears floating in a bowl of water, and all for the mere pleasure of admiring you or criticizing you at their leisure. To examine your buttons or your watch, the cloth of your dress or your heeled boots, the shortness of your hair or the length of your beard, was a much greater treat to them than offering their wares for sale. How much did I desire to know their opinion of such a costume—to know whether, when any novelty struck their fancy, it was in praise or in raillery they begged the observation of their neighbour! On one occasion I could not misunderstand the opinion of the people on European costume; this was on coming on shore for some official visit in a tail coat and a hat, a small curly-brimmed specimen of London industry, which would have been fashionable in the Botanic Garden on Wednesday, or in Kensington, but was greeted with loud laughs of derision and pointed fingers in the capital of Japan. I could imagine those sensible people asking one another, if that black-looking apparatus was to guard the head and shade the eyes, or if it was a mark of high rank in the wearer. The Japanese

seldom wear any covering on the head, with the exception of the military; a fan held over the head, or a paper umbrella, serves to protect it from the rays of the sun.

Once or twice I made excursions of some six miles into the heart of the city under the escort of an officer, one of the three who had accompanied us on horseback a few days before; but there were several streets into which I could not prevail on him to conduct me. On my attempting to go alone, he implored me by words and gestures to refrain. I had remarked on former visits that several streets crossing the thoroughfares we passed were closed up by strong bars of wood and guarded by wardens, who allowed none to pass. Crowds of people were in these streets pressing on the barriers. I was now given to understand by this officer that there were many districts in the city where the feeling towards all foreigners was very hostile, and that those streets had been closed by order of the Government; the streets where they opposed my entrance were of that class.

Fabulous tales have been told about the population of Yedo. A high officer informed M. Gaskewitch that it contained a million houses, which by the usual computation would make the population over five millions. This is perfectly extravagant. Kaempfer stated that it took twenty-one hours to make the circuit of the city. On foot from sixty to sixty-five miles would be accomplished in that time. In order to judge what accuracy there might be in this statement, I asked the officer who accompanied me, how large his city was. He thereupon drew me an irregular

four-sided figure on the dust of the open place where we were standing, and said that the extremes of length and breadth were respectively about five and four Japanese ri or ki. Now a ri is 4,275 English yards, or about $2\frac{3}{7}$ miles, and this would give the length and breadth to be about twelve and ten miles. And the distance I traversed on horseback from one side to the other was about that length. Not more than one third of this ground is covered with houses, the intervening space being taken up with gardens, open places, rivers, and roads. The greater part of the houses are very small, containing, perhaps, five souls each, while the temples, of which there are some hundreds, contain from twenty to thirty bonzes, and the dwellings of the nobility from fifty to three hundred persons or more. Supposing, therefore, the ground occupied by these temples and houses of princes and nobility to be covered with the small houses of the common people, and to contain the same number of inhabitants each, an approximation to the space covered with houses in the whole city would be about forty square miles, or one-third of the whole area. Supposing, again, each dwelling to occupy a space of five hundred square yards, there would be nearly 248,000 houses; and, estimating each house to have five inmates, the population of the whole city would be about one million and a quarter. This computation is made with much diffidence; but I think it will be found much nearer the truth than many accounts I have read and heard, which made out the population to be in numbers between eighty thousand and five millions.

When the business of the day was over for the diplomatists, and the sight-seers had returned from their rambles, all the residents of the temple met round the hospitable table of Count Muravïef, where there was every day a place for any officer on shore for his pleasure, whether a captain or a garde marine. And around it were representatives of all the people comprised in the vast Empire of all the Russias.

General Count Muravïef had been for fifteen years Governor of Eastern Siberia, which, from its proximity to China and Japan, is the most influential of the two governments of that region. He is about forty-five years of age, short in stature, with rather red yet agreeable features, and great suavity of manners. He is said to be a man of few words, but of great promptness of action, and to have a manner peculiar to himself in making treaties with Oriental powers. While a Russian admiral was still negotiating in the Peiho, he is said to have concluded in three days in a small town on the confines of Siberia, the treaty which brought to Russia a great part of the valley of the Amoor and the whole coast of Tartary northward of the Corea. He is ever on the move; the summer may see him at Irkutsk or in Japan, and the winter in the saloons of Paris or Petersburg. The colonization of the Amoor valley has been his great aim; that it is proceeding so slowly cannot be his fault, when the first means—namely, colonists—are wanting. What he can do, he does, by encouraging officers to marry and remain in the country, even going so far as to provide them with wives. I heard an amusing example of this, and saw myself the chief actors. Naval officers

sent out from Russia under the condition of remaining seven years are granted a step in rank, increase of pay, and a pension at the expiration of the term. A young lieutenant received the command of some small vessel and had the misfortune to run her on a sandbank in the river, when she stuck hard and fast. Fearing, perhaps, to lose his command, and knowing the inclination of the Governor, he left his vessel, obtained leave, and went to Irkutsk, a journey of some thousand miles. He presented himself to his superior, who wished to know the cause that brought him there. He wanted to get married. This was quite enough; he was promised the first young lady who should leave the "Institute;" a meeting took place at the Governor's between the couple; the young lady was very probably delighted to be set free by being bound; and shortly afterwards they were married. The officer's error was forgotten in the atonement he made for it; he kept his command, and was promoted, as he deserved to be, for taking such a vigorous step to promote the population of the colony.

His Excellency was accompanied on this mission by a select suite. Among these were his two secretaries, a dignitary of the Church formerly at the head of the college in Pekin, and four aides-de-camp. His first secretary was a remarkable man, and had experienced a hard fate. Educated at one of the chief German universities, he had imbibed from the eminent philosophers under whom he sat philological and political opinions, in which he found ready sympathy among the youth of young Deutschland. But although he may have found much the same sympathy among his

own countrymen, he had appeared rather too soon for the free propagation of his ideas. One fine day saw him and his brother patriots on the Kazanski doroghe, as the route to Siberia is emphatically called, whither he was sent, as many of his betters had been before, to allow his enthusiasm to cool, and to mould his mind to a state more suitable to those institutions under which he was to live. He remained a long time in the mines, working like a common felon, and obtained his release only at the commencement of the more liberal and mild government of Alexander. He then received the post which he at present occupies, and in which his talents, his varied knowledge, and his power to make the best use of them may be of as much service as they are agreeable to those who enjoy his company and conversation. His junior was a young gentleman apparently admirably adapted for the light skirmishing of diplomacy in the saloon, the closet, or the boudoir.

The bishop of the Greek Church had resided ten years in Pekin, spoke and wrote Chinese with facility, and was conversant with many of the Mongolian dialects. He had accompanied the first Russian embassy to Japan in 1853, and he and M. Gaskewitch, the Consul, are the men perhaps the most conversant of all Europeans with China and Chinese literature.

The aides-de-camp of the Governor were two colonels of the guards and a captain of the fleet. One was of the country and race of Armenia, the other the Circassian Prince whom I before mentioned, This person had been sent to St. Petersburg when a boy, as the hostage of his clan, was educated there,

and made a colonel of the Circassian Guard; but his own brother slew the Russian Commander, Prince Gargarin, and after a short struggle he was taken and executed, and the little principality was for ever subdued and annexed to the Russian empire. The brother, brought up under more civilized auspices, was not allowed to return to his native mountains, but continues to enjoy his rank, and a larger fortune than all his own country could afford him, and seems perfectly contented.

Many were the anecdotes and adventures related among the party after dinner in the large chamber of that temple. The experience of nearly all had been more in the east of Asia than in Europe. Among the incidents mentioned was one about the little known inhabitants of Corea. A few years ago, Admiral Putiatin, with his captain and a few officers, landed on the coast, and proceeded to a village, where instead of being received with hospitality, they were greeted with a discharge of stones and filth from the inhabitants. Making a hasty retreat, they returned on board, and immediately landed a hundred men who marched up into the village. There the Admiral had the chief men before him, all his sailors were ordered to take sticks and form two lines, and through these the unfortunate head man of the village had to run the gauntlet, after the manner of Russian military punishments. When this act of justice was accomplished, the Admiral and his men returned on board and sailed away. A few weeks before our arrival, Count Muravïef visited the same bay and village, and the first question the natives asked, was concerning Admiral Putiatin. "A great man," they cried, "is Putiatin," and they behaved

with the greatest respect to their second visitors, and supplied them with what provisions they could. The severe lesson seems to have been of much service to these slavish barbarians.

Our conversation, one evening, fell upon the overcrowded state of China, and the difficulty with which many of the inhabitants procure food to support life. Both the gentlemen, who had resided ten years in Pekin, stated that the Chinese eat anything they can get. It is well known that mice, rats, cats, and puppies are articles of delicacy to many of the people, and here are two instances to show that they are often forced by hunger to fill their bellies with the most loathsome substances.

M. Gaskewitch one day saw a man cook something at one of the public frying-pans in the streets of Pekin, and afterwards eat it with considerable gusto. Being asked what it was, the man told M. Gaskewitch it was the only piece he could get of a donkey which had died, and that piece was certainly the very last which anybody, except he were ravenous, would ever think of eating. Another time he saw the half-rotten remains of a dog in the street. Presently a travelling tinker passed that way, saw the dog, stopped and examined it, and after smelling it well, wrapped it up in a rag and moved away. Mr. Gaskewitch followed, and asked him what he intended to do with the putrid animal; his reply was that he and his family would eat it. When such horrid want exists, it is scarcely to be wondered at that the poor sometimes sacrifice their infants, rather than see them starve; but there is no reason to suppose that infanticide is ever

practised except in despair. On the contrary, the Chinese may be said to be fond of their offspring in an extraordinary degree; in China, among the islands of the Indian Archipelago, in California, or the Sandwich Islands, the traveller may remark this: as women hold a degraded position in the community, it is to be expected that female infants do not receive so much of the paternal fondness as the more favoured males; but on the other hand, it does not appear that the mothers, for all that, neglect their less favoured progeny.

On Sunday, the 4th September, a deputation of grandees of the Japan empire paid a visit on board the *Ascolde*, to present the excuses of the Government for the late murder at Yokahama, according to the stipulation made between Captain Unkofsky and the High Council of the Empire. The same evening Count Muravïef left the frigate and returned on board his yacht. The yards of all the ships were lit up with blue lights, and a vast number of rockets were sent up into the air as the boats conveyed him between the ships. The Russian Commodore accompanied him, and early the next morning the yacht sailed on her return to the Amoor River.

The same day the rest of the ships left, with the exception of the frigate, to return northward. On quitting the Bay of Yedo we met for several days nothing but baffling and contrary winds, so that what little way we made was owing to the north-east set of the great Japanese current, which is in the Pacific what the Gulf Stream is in the Atlantic. In some places this stream is so narrow and so strong that it may be compared to a river in the midst of the

ocean. One day, during some hours at least, we were urged on by it at the rate of four miles in the hour.

In a few days we had another example of the fearful storms which blow on this coast. The barometer fell in a very short time half an inch, and the wind shifted with the fall from north round to east and south, blowing every now and then in frightful squalls. It soon settled down at south-west into a fierce gale, with such a heavy, confused sea, that for the first time it was found necessary to batten down the hatches, for we took on board a great many "whales," as the French call shipping seas. The estimated height of some waves, from the base, was at least forty feet, much higher than we before experienced during a week's gale in the Indian Ocean, or afterwards off the stormy shores of Cape Horn, where all the mighty strength of an ocean unbroken by land sweeps on the dreary coast. The disasters among the cumbrous Japanese shipping must be very great during these storms, when they are not able in time to gain some of the sheltered havens which line the coast. Instances are known of a junk being blown ashore on the coast of California, and of another cast on the coast of Oahu, one of the Sandwich Islands. And this can be easily accounted for. They must have been swept by the furious gales from the S. and S.W., and by the current to the N.E., till they encountered the prevailing strong westerly winds of the higher latitudes, when they would be either thrown on the American coast, or, before they reached that, have encountered the northerly winds which prevail along those shores, and

so been driven into the north-east trade wind, which would most probably bring them among the Hawaian Islands. This happened to one of the junks before mentioned, after it had been tossed about, from one wind to another, during eleven months. The above two instances are well known; but how many junks have been driven from the shores of Nipon, and been overwhelmed by the enormous seas which they are so little able to resist? The storm we had just encountered caused much havoc among the native shipping in the Bay of Hakodadi, as we found on our arrival a few days later.

When off Osaki, the most easterly cape of Nipon, we received a succession of fiery squalls from the land at the opening of almost every valley. Fortunately, the lighter sails had been taken in a few moments before; as it was, the corvette was nearly laid on her beam ends. Ships would do well, therefore, to take great care in passing along under this coast, or to give it a wide berth altogether, although those on board may lose a view of the most picturesque coast scenery which can possibly be imagined.

We were three days battling against the currents of the Straits of T'zugár, between Cape Nambir and Hakodadi, for the wind was also contrary, and our steam power incapable of contending against both; we had time enough, therefore, to observe the coast of Yeso, which has a most desolate appearance, its peaks and masses of lava and sandstone being unspotted by a single speck of verdure. On the evening of the ninth day from Yedo we again cast anchor in the Bay of Hakodadi.

On going on shore the next day, I found it to be the third and closing day of one of the greatest of Japanese fêtes. All the goods had been removed from the shops, most of which now contained a little altar, with images and offerings of food before them; or had been cleared to receive company. All the inhabitants were dressed out in their best, and their hair freshly combed and greased; the women were radiant in scarlet and blue, and the officials in gray and black silks and crapes. One of the dresses which many of the officials wore was quite new to me: it was a jacket of grey or quaker-coloured silk, with a full flounce overlapping the shoulder, and looking like a pair of wings. The streets were crowded with gazers, the temples were crammed with strangers from the country, and the bonzes must have reaped a rich reward by their entertainment.

The most interesting of all the groups was a family of Ainos, or Hairy Kuriles, as they are sometimes called. They had come with many more from the interior of the island, to witness the fêtes. The heads of the males were shaved, and the hair arranged in Japanese fashion; those of the women, so unlike the Japanese, looked as if they had been dragged through a bush. They glided timidly and swiftly through the crowd, which jeered and hooted at them, till they seemed frightened out of their wits, and hurried into the temple which had been set apart for them.

The procession was the great event of the day; and the sight of it must have had a curious effect on any European stranger who had witnessed in Catholic

countries the long and solemn procession of the Host, of virgins and saints in jewels and embroidery, and of bishops and priests in scarlet and gold brocade. In Japan, and also in China, such parades consist of equal parts of solemnity and buffoonery. In the present case the column was headed by a corps of bonzes, followed by men dressed as harlequins, carrying large banners, pikes, or poles having streamers of feathers, hair, or silk. These men moved forward to very slow time, beat on a drum, which was borne on the back of one man and beat by another following him; and at every step they paused, elevated the knee, jerked out the leg, and pointed the toe, and then brought the foot to the ground. After them came many officers with two swords, dressed in light blue or grey, with the wing-like flaps on their shoulders. A magnificent pavilion, rich in satin, silk, and embroidery, beautifully carved, gilt, and polished, containing various images of deities, and surrounded by bonzes, was borne along by men on poles. Then came another monster pavilion, of the same manufacture, but thickly decorated with devices in copper. On the top of this was seated a figure, a queen in former days, who, in the absence of her lord, marched out against his rebellious subjects, vanquished them, and pacified the country. By her side was standing an old gentleman, her prime minister and adviser. In the body of the car were about a dozen little girls, of about ten or twelve years, dressed in full costumes, and playing on gongs and drums: and behind them several men, playing on fifes, triangles, and clappers. This monster car apparently representing the military body,

was drawn by 200 soldiers, in two lines, and harlequins, tumblers, and actors performed all sorts of tricks between the lines of drawers.

The next link in the procession was a junk of polished hard wood, worked with copper, and having a pavilion cabin about fourteen feet high on the deck filled with people. Before these, in front, sat another party of little Japanese damsels playing on drums, and all dressed in blue and rose with gold embroidery, their hair decorated with bunches of flowers or crapes. They were all very pretty children, so gentle in their movements, and yet so full of self-possession that they must have been subject to a long training. As they played they raised, suspended, crossed, and waved their graceful little arms in the air to a chorus of the sounds, Ah! Eh! Hah! repeated over and over again. This junk was drawn by seamen, and was followed like the car by an assemblage of actors, priests, and officers.

A second junk was of the same description in build and decoration, except that its prow was formed of a large phœnix, or some other allegorical bird with green scales on the body, like a dragon. It contained a pavilion like the former, and carried children, musicians, flags, streamers, &c.; its sails, too, were of silk, made in the Japanese manner, of strips laced together, but leaving a space between to let out superfluous wind, and silk embroidery with which these junks and the car were adorned, gave one a high idea of the tastefulness and dexterity of the Japanese women, who I suppose worked them. The figures were those of dragons, tortoises, cranes, toads, butter-

flies, and other animals which have either a mythological or an allegorical character among the people.

After this junk came a rough plank cart, filled with the productions of the earth; rice, sugar, seaweed, fruits, vegetables, &c. Then followed several cars, representing the different guilds of artisans, and the arts most honoured in Japan, that of the carpenters and joiners being the most conspicuous; and that guild of all others in Japan, certainly merits a presiding deity, for their handicraft is exercised with more skill than in any other part of the globe.

In the evening, stages were erected in the streets, where musicians and dancing-girls performed to a crowded audience, which was by this time in full spirits, and for the first time in Japan I saw natives drunk with saki, and that evening there were not a few in that condition, but perfectly good-humoured.

From what I could understand from a Japanese officer, who was very anxious to explain, this was one of the greatest fêtes in the Japanese calendar; all the gods took a part in it, and all estates and callings of the people were represented in the several portions of the procession. I could not help thinking, if it was displayed on so magnificent a scale in such a small, and till lately insignificant fishing-village, with what splendour must it not have been represented in the capital, at Miako, or in any of the other large towns?

The next morning all the street decorations had

been removed, the shops were again filled with boxes, the silks and lacquer ware again removed from them, the peon was again dragging huge stones towards the fort, and Japanese life had returned to its customary routine.

CHAPTER XI.

Departure from Hakodadi—T'zugár Straits—Matsmai—Gulf of Tartary—De Castries Bay—Misfortunes of Russian Ships during War—Incidents of that time—The Diana Frigate—The Yacht *America*—Passage through the Amoor Liman, or Gulf—On a Sand Bank—Difficulty of Navigation—Sagalien Island—A Character, and his Adventures—Get off the Bank—Ghelak Settlements—Mouth of the Amoor—Arrival at Nicholaivsk.

On Friday the 16th of September steam was ready, and the anchor swinging from the cathead, when the wind, increasing to a hard gale from the N. W., caused us again to let it fall. Early next morning, however, we were battling against the river-like current of the straits of T'zugár. Our engine was almost useless against its power from its own defects, combined with the bad quality of the Japanese coal, which soon choked up the tubes of the boilers. Beating out against a westerly wind was our only chance, yet the stream between Capes Nadejda and T'zugár was so powerful, that we were quite unable to double the former. The next morning found us about the same spot, and the morning after just opposite Hakodadi, into which we saw one of the other corvettes returning in sheer disgust. Two days had been spent in alternately visiting the shores of Nipon and Yeso, and if our boilers had not fortunately been already cleaned and repaired, another twenty-four hours would have seen us again in the Pacific Ocean. Creeping in

close, therefore, under the shores of Yeso, we were this time more fortunate, and had besides a fine view of the marvellous effects of light on its barren broken hills, of the sheltered fishing villages snugly lying between them, and, on rounding Cape Nadejda, of the romantic little town of Matsmai, the feudal residence of a prince of that name, the most important in the island of Matsmai, or Yeso, by both which names the island is called. Flying before the increasing S. W. wind, we soon lost sight of its white houses, and its peaked-roofed temples embosomed in trees, now brown with the tinge of autumn.

On the 21st we experienced more of the characteristic weather of these seas. With the barometer at 29·14, thermometer 40°, the horizon white with haze, and a pale blue sky above, over which the scud was flying in fragments, pursued by others, blending and disappearing, we lay to for hours in a rolling, angry sea. Afterwards light and contrary winds rendered our progress north very tedious. We sighted Cape Disappointment on the 23rd, and beheld for the first time the high, broken, and well-wooded coast of Tartary.

On the 26th, we again made the land to the north of Barracouta harbour, and the next morning were running through the fog by the lead at a short distance from the shore, till the high bluff of Gloster camp being visible, we entered by the southern passage into the bay of De Castries, and anchored behind the Middle Island, the best ground for that purpose. A steamboat entered the bay at the same time as we; she proved to be the steam-yacht *America*, from Nicholaivsk, and her object in coming was to take on

board such of us as desired to visit that town and the river Amoor.

De Castries Bay was discovered, and named by the unfortunate La Perouse, and had since been but seldom visited, until the Russian war. It forms a semicircle of about twenty-five miles, and contains three estuaries of little depth, into which are discharged the waters of the mountain streams, and their mud which becomes at low water the feeding field of thousands of web-footed birds. Safe anchorage is to be found, in all winds, behind the island facing the settlement. But other parts are much exposed to winds from the eastern quarter, of which we had melancholy proof, in a fine ship lying mastless on the rocks on the S. side of the entrance of the river at the head of the bay. This ship, belonging to the Amoor Company, and loaded with goods for the colony, had run aground during a gale of wind a short time before, although anchored in apparently safe ground of eight fathoms, and having seventy and eighty fathoms of chain. There she lay a total wreck, with but little chance of saving much of her valuable cargo, a great part of which consisted in small iron steamers, in pieces, and their machinery, for the Russian Government. Two other large ships belonging also to the Amoor Company, were lying in the bay, waiting to discharge some of their freight in order to reduce their depth of water sufficiently to proceed through the gulf or Liman of the Amoor.

Many readers will not have forgotten the events of which De Castries Bay was the scene in 1855. The Russian fleet, after the unfortunate attack on Petro-

paulovsk by the allied forces, had quitted that place, having on board nearly all its inhabitants, male and female, and had run the gauntlet safely through the allied squadrons into De Castries Bay. It is true that from the time of leaving until they entered Perouse Strait, they were enshrouded in fog, which prevented them equally from being seen, and from seeing. Here, then, in the summer of 1855, were united the *Aurora* of 44 guns, the *Corvette Alcoutza*, of 20 24-pounders, the *Dvina* and two other transports, a barque and brig of two or three small guns, and the little steamer *Vostvell*, which now formed part of our squadron. Scarcely were the women and children on shore, and almost before any means of defence could be taken, when the harbour was visited by the squadron of Commodore Elliot. The voyage of the *Sybille* in this unfortunate campaign has been written by Captain Whittingham, and I can bear testimony to the accuracy of that gentleman's description. A shot or two fired by the *Hornet* and answered by one of the Russian ships, but which fell far short; a cheer from each party—and all was over. The gulf of Tartary was blockaded by two of the English ships, while the third was despatched to Hakodadi for reinforcements. A few days afterwards, the Commodore again visited the bay, but found the enemy had escaped him, and unaware of the passage into the river Amoor from the south, he went southward in pursuit of them. I have heard from many of the officers present that day on board the Russian ships, that they had no doubt at the time but that they should be obliged to burn their vessels if they were vigorously attacked, as they were

almost totally unprepared for a lengthened resistance. In their passage also through the liman of the Amoor, the frigate and her companions remained for two weeks sitting on sandbanks, and in such helpless positions that had a small steamer visited the gulf, the whole squadron must have fallen an easy prey. But no steamer did visit it for some time after, when the Russians were safe at Nicholaivsk and had the narrow and winding channel of that river well defended by heavily armed earthworks.

The adventures of the Russian fleet in these seas during the last ten years, have been romantic and unfortunate. The *Pallas*, in which Admiral Putiatin visited Japan to make the first treaty, was long ago a wreck in Barracouta Harbour. The *Diana*, chased half round the world by English ships just after the declaration of war, had taken her guns and men at Simoda, and arrived in Japan, there to be shattered by an earthquake and afterwards to sink in the depths of the ocean, when being towed by the Japanese boats to a sheltered bay for repair. The admiral, his officers, and men, left in Japan, almost without the necessaries of life and with none of its comforts, were forced to submit to the hospitality of the Japanese Government, which feared, while it grudgingly relieved its unfortunate guests. They were, however, plentifully supplied with provisions, but were afterwards charged most exorbitant prices for what they had received. An American brig safely conveyed part of the crew to the Amoor. The admiral himself, a few officers and men, ran up to Petropaulovsk, in a schooner he had built with the assistance of the Japanese, and there narrowly

escaped falling into the hands of the English squadron. Finding that place already abandoned, he retreated towards the Amoor, and one day suddenly came upon the *Sybille* (I think it was), and only just escaped her clutches by the fog again interposing its impenetrable veil. The schooner had, however, been seen by the officer of the watch of the English frigate, but no mention is made by Captain Whittingham of this little episode of the voyage of the *Sybille*. Certain it is that the watch officers of both English and Russian ships met at the Cape on board the *Sybille*, as the latter was returning home from her long station, and compared notes on that *rencontre* in the sea of Okotsk.

The *Aurora*, too, just mentioned as having escaped into the Amoor, returned to Petersburg after the peace bandaged up with ropes to keep her poor old timbers together, while the *Ascolde*, as we have said, only just escaped destruction in a disastrous typhoon off the coast of China. But to return to our voyage.

On the 28th, at break of day, our party was on board the *America*, which immediately steamed out of the bay by the passage between the middle and north island. This paddle steamboat, built at Boston for the Russian Government a year or two ago (as were also the fine steam transports *Japonitz* and *Mandjoor*), was a pretty fast vessel, carrying four small guns, and had been busily employed all the summer in conveying the Governor-General of Siberia on his diplomatic tour. Swiftly she passed along under the high and fir-covered coast, the lead with eight fathoms of line finding no bottom, until the west coast of Sagalien loomed through the misty air, when the depths

decreased to seven and six fathoms. A brig bound to Petropaulovsk with passengers, passed us going south, and then a tiny schooner for St. Francisco, tacking round a sandbank, on which a few weeks before her fellow had grounded and been broken to pieces. I had often read during the voyage of the intricate navigation of the gulf which we were approaching, of the baffled attempts of the steamers of the allied squadron to find their way through it either north or south, and now we were ourselves about to experience the truth of what we had heard. Having long watched the high coast of Tartary, and the opposite low coast of Sagalien, with its high mountains in the interior, we went below, and heard as we sat at dinner the monotonous tones of the man with the lead. Suddenly he cried, 'Five fathoms;' a second more it was only three, then fifteen feet; and before we had done staring at one another, and just as the cry "stop machine" reached us, a sudden jerk nearly threw us out of our seats. She had run on a sandbank, and the impetus caused her unfortunately to stick fast amidships. Added to this, it was just after high water, and a strong south-west wind blew her only farther and farther upon the sand. When low water came her starboard side was nearly dry, while on the port side there was eight feet of water or nearly the vessel's draught.

The spot where we were hard and fast was near Cape Lazaref, in the narrowest part of the strait, where in many old maps is marked the isthmus, formerly supposed to connect the peninsula of Sagalien to the main land. The lake-like *liman*, or gulf, was before

us, through which the waters of the Amoor partly find their way to the ocean by numerous narrow channels, intricate, and hidden, of course, by the water which covers both deep and shallow. In addition to these there are many *culs-de-sac*, or false passages, inevitably leading a ship bows foremost on a steep bank. The channel through which we had entered was the one conducting to the Amoor, and following the coast of Tartary; but we had approached too near, and had struck on its steep and, unfortunately, its leeward side. The other channel, leading to the Sea of Okotsk, follows the Sagalien shore. The least depth in the Amoor channel is fifteen feet; but the greatest care is needed by all ships, even of small draught, as there are no buoys, and the landmarks deceive even the pilots of the Russian fleet who are accustomed to the duty.* Scarcely ever does a ship drawing over nine or ten feet of water pass through the liman without paying the penalty of delay, for hours, and sometimes days; and a fleet of a few ships may always afford amusement to the artist seaman, in sketching their graceful forms as they repose in various positions on the various sandbanks.

The Sagalien coast of the Amoor liman is so low that it can hardly be perceived from the opposite shore. It is composed of sandy plains, with salt pools and incrustations, with a few clumps of trees, and scanty vegetation, to which the deer resort by thousands, affording a profitable quarry to the Ghelak hunters. From the stag-horns I saw in Nicholaivsk,

* Vessels bound for the Amoor come first into De Castries Bay, when a pilot is furnished to them by the Governor.

which had been brought from there, I could judge of the enormous size of the animals. Their skins form almost the only clothing of the inhabitants, and are worn with the hair outside, and lined with fur.

After successive attempts during six tides to get off, which all proved fruitless, owing to the continued S.W. wind, a boat was despatched to a bay a few miles distant, where a large cutter was lying, whose assistance was needed for lightening the ship. She arrived the same evening, and her commander, a weather-beaten, rough, one-armed Kamchatdale, came on board, and presented himself in the cabin, where he entertained the party with a relation of his adventures and experience, on both of which he much prided himself. He was, indeed, a curiosity to me, and though I only half understood his language, it was fully explained to me afterwards.

From being a common sailor in the Russian navy, he had been promoted to the rank of under officer, for his knowledge of the coast, and had been entrusted with the command of the cutter, which was now anchored near us. In it he had daringly dodged the ships of the Allied squadron in Kamchatka and among the Kurile islands; availing himself of the fog to approach, and, concealing himself among the rocky islets or under the high coast, he escaped detection, although on one occasion, he said, some English vessels passed very near to him, as he lay under the shadow of the land. By these means he was enabled to give such information as caused several Russian ships to escape, particularly the schooner in which

Admiral Putiatin had come up from Yeda,* to find Petropaulovsk already deserted. For these services he had been promoted again, to officer's rank, below that of master's mate; since which time he lived the life of a "bold and hardy mariner," in keeping up communication between the various ports in these stormy seas, and in making little "forays" on his own account among the inhabitants of Sagalien and the Kuriles. Chart and compass were his guides; sextant and chronometer were beneath his notice. Formerly he had applied for and obtained two small cannon, but they were soon taken from him when his semi-piratical habits became more fully known at head-quarters; for he seems to have landed at the different Ghelak or Ainos settlements, and made the natives part with their sables and beavers, whether they would or not, at his own valuation, for tobacco, &c., beating and driving them off if they refused to comply with his demands. The old rascal explained to us that he did this to civilize them. The natives were so exasperated against him, that they have sworn to put an end to him with their knives if he repeats his visits.

The old man was married, and his wife and only daughter were living at Nicholaivsk. The latter was known by the familiar name of "Little Sable," from the dowry it was supposed she would receive on her marriage, or inherit at the old man's death; for great was the hoard of valuable skins he was said to possess. I may

* Yeda, or Heda (the first consonant being strongly aspirated), a sheltered port, near Simoda, in Japan, where the shipwrecked Russians of the *Diana* were stationed.

here mention that the usual dowry of the daughters of great people among the natives consists of 1,000 sable skins, valued at about 3,000 or 4,000 silver roubles. Such, at least, was the case in former times; contact with civilization may have changed old customs. Little Sable, however, will, no doubt, find that her father's skins, whether real or changed into specie, will do much here, as in other parts of the world, to get her a husband.

"How did he lose his left hand?" I inquired.

"Among his other accomplishments, he is a mighty hunter," was the reply. "His cutter moored in some unfrequented cove, he would shoulder his rifle, and rarely did a stag or a bear cross his path but it fell a victim. Last year, with Reaumur's thermometer 30° below zero, he was in the act of firing at a bear, when the barrel of his gun, made brittle by the extreme cold, burst, and shattered his hand. The bear was, however, dead at his feet—shot through the eye, which seems to have always been his point of aim. He, nevertheless, skinned the enormous beast with his other hand, and made his appearance at the next post, thirty versts from the scene of action, enveloped in its skin. His arm was then and there amputated below the elbow, and it seems he is still as great a hunter as ever."

I could not help wishing to be his companion in some hunting cruise. His being a Kamchatdale, led me to make a few inquiries about the natives of that country. At the beginning of this century its population numbered about 70,000 or 80,000; but small-pox, syphilis, and other ravages, have decreased their num-

bers to 15,000 or 20,000. This may be approximate, but, like all roving or migrating people, their true number is impossible to be obtained.

We, fortunately, did not require the assistance which had arrived. After seventy hours' detention, the wind hove round to the N.W., and blew hard. Setting sail forward, and aided by steam, and three or four anchors out on the opposite side of the channel, we swung off, and left only her stern bumping on the sand, which I thought would have injured her rudder, only I found that it had been shortened from oft-repeated experience of similar disasters. We soon got quite free, and anchored for the night in the middle of the channel, in five fathoms. The tide rises only two feet off Cape Lazaref, and a few miles farther up becomes quite counteracted by the stream of the river.

On Saturday, October 1st, we were once more under steam, but the greater part of the day was lost in recovering the anchors. The general depth of the channel between Capes Lazaref and Jowry, a distance of thirty-five miles, is from seven fathoms to fourteen feet; and so steep are the sides of the bordering banks, that we often had seven fathoms on one side, and only ten feet on the other—a warning which sent us farther out, sometimes to find the same depths on the other side. The aspect of the coast was that of vast sweeps of high and forest-covered land, crossing each other at various angles, but few or no peaks. Many large sandy bays indented the coast; and at low water great sandbanks were visible about the gulf, or showed their position by the ripples of the shallow water. We anchored for the night off Cape Jowry.

The next day, an autumn day of these climes, with cold, freezing rain, and gusty wind, we proceeded on our way. At noon we anchored again, off Cape Pronghe, to procure some fish from a Ghelak settlement situated there, as the supplies of our entertainers were falling short, owing to our delay on the sand-bank. Taking advantage of the occasion, we manned a boat, with the *garde-marines* for rowers, and pulled ashore through the heavy rain and wind. The village, if it may be so called, consisted of four or five miserable huts and sheds, of which one was the dwelling of the family, and the rest store-houses for fish, or open sheds for drying them. One shed contained the best parts of the salmon, and two others the inferior parts, for the dogs. A team of about twenty of these animals were tethered to stakes beneath the shed, admiring the tempting morsels above; our arrival called off their attention, for they immediately set up a yell in concert, which lasted, however, only a few minutes, when they sat down again, and pursued their former occupation.

The family consisted of eight persons only, who seemed father, mother, five sons, and one daughter. Of heavy Mongolian type of feature, small, yet robust of limb, they were all clad in deerskins. The young girl, about sixteen years of age, stood retired in one corner, half covering her face with her dirty hands, yet peeping out at the strangers with a kind of savage coquetry, and smiles which had their charms; indeed, she would not have been considered ugly in any country where her type flourishes, in spite of her full cheeks, of a purply red hue, peculiar to high northern climes,

and her coarse, black hair, uncombed and rusty with dirt. Their dwelling was built of fir-bark, and roofed with the same; fish and dirty skins hung in all parts; the utensils were all made of birch-bark; and their canoes, evidently shaped from a Japanese model, were frail, leaky vessels. We procured thirty or forty fine salmon from them, for a few pounds of coarse, black bread—an article they prefer to anything else.

Between Capes Jowry and Pronghe the river is buoyed, and the general depth did not exceed sixteen feet; in many places it was much less. At the latter cape, the river Amoor properly commences, or rather ends, its course of more than 2,000 miles of navigable waters. Its width here is about three miles, but the channel becomes very narrow. A desolate scene is the termination of this mighty river. Pine-covered slopes extend for miles, their colour one monotonous brown, relieved only by the dark cold green of another species of fir, which covers the summits of the hills. Through the murky atmosphere a dark patch on the waters revealed a flock of thousands of geese. What is that, skimming over the horizon like a white scud? A flock of noble swans flying low over the water. They had been startled in their solitude, though far away, by our splashing monster. A solitary boat here and there showed that another Ghelak settlement must be near, and as we advanced farther up the stream, a peculiar form of some spot of the shore, with a plot of cabbages growing near it, pointed out the position of an earth battery, of which there are several before arriving at Nicholaivsk. Crossing

from the south bank of the river obliquely to the northern, a short distance from the mouth, we kept along that shore, and at 6 P.M. cast anchor before the town of Nicholaivsk, the chief of the Russian posts on the Amoor.

CHAPTER XII.

Rise and Progress of Nicholaivsk—Climate—Buildings—Commerce—American and Amoor Companies—Captain Vries and the Navigation of the River—Visit to Ghelak Village—Dogs and Bears—How Bears are worshipped—The Natives' Manner of Living—Port of Nicholaivsk—Amusements, Dogs and Sledging—A Ball—The Vosmerka and Bear Dance—Departure—De Castries Bay—A Wreck—Shooting Excursion—Siberian Forests, Animals and Hunting—Arrival of Ships from Europe—Departure.

On landing at the port of Nicholaivsk, we found, thanks to the considerate attention of the commodore, that the club had been given up for our use during our stay. We immediately, therefore, pitched our mattresses in the ball and reception rooms, throughout which a large Russian stove threw an agreeable warmth. A well-assorted library in all languages, with the latest newspapers from Petersburg and Paris, was close by us, and I began to entertain a more favourable opinion of the place than its first appearance gave me. Anxious to see more, I went out to look about me, but nearly breaking my neck, I soon returned and left further exploring till morning.

Nicholaivsk, situated on the left bank of the river, about twenty-five miles from its mouth, was made the chief port in these parts on the abandonment of Petropaulovsk. Before 1855, it contained only a few hundred inhabitants; its present population is about

3,500,* composed of one battalion of Cossacks and one "equipage" of the fleet, each numbering about 1,000 men, with civilians, peasants, and about 250 women, Great have been the difficulties with which it has had to contend. The unavoidable misery caused by the arrival of a number of people, themselves in disorder, for whom no provision, either of food or shelter, had been made, led to a fearful mortality; scurvy, dysentery, and other maladies, more than decimated the troops, while the ladies and other women suffered in proportion the horrors which war entails. The nature of the soil, too, is most unfavourable. It consists of a very thin stratum of humus over clay, and beneath this trachyte and lava; such a surface must naturally keep the place cold and unhealthy, which a system of drainage, only just commenced, may partly remedy.

The climate is about as bad as in any part of the world. The river is frozen over about the beginning of November, and free from ice about the 10th or 12th of June. North-west winds blow down the river with cutting force, and bear with them snow, sleet, and damp; these prevail nearly throughout the year. For a few days in summer, the wind veers round to the south and east, and brings some hot weather, but not enough to ripen grain or fruit.† Hard as is the task of man, with all his science, to subdue nature in any clime, it is next to impossible under such circumstances as these.

* This does not include the crews of ships on station which winter here.

† Thermometer in winter, 30° R., and now, in September, snow and sleet fell every day.

The town occupies a few hundred acres cleared from the surrounding forest. It consists of the Bolshoe Uletze, or High Street, with three or four crossing it at right angles; one square in which are the church and the government offices, and another surrounded by barracks. The houses are all of block construction, the trunks of pine being laid lengthways, and the crevices stuffed with dried moss, which everywhere carpets the forest. The church is of the same material, and has a tower and a fine set of bells presented by a rich merchant of Irkutsk. There are also government schools for the children of soldiers and officers. The interiors of the houses of the Governor, chief officers, and a few merchants are fitted up with all the comfort that European, or Chinese upholstery can supply. Only one or two of them have more than one story. The streets are rendered just passable by a plank pavement, and all spaces not occupied by buildings or roads are covered by the still-rooted stumps of trees.

In a small place like Nicholaivsk, it is not very difficult to judge of its society, which consists of the Governor, Admiral Kasakevitch, the officers civil and military, and their wives and daughters. The Governor, an excellent man, and beloved by all, was the soul of the place, and the promoter of all that was social and amusing. There were one or two rather pretty women, ten or twelve (the whole number), very amiable (at least to us); but scandal and discord (as in all other places cut off from the world—places where nothing but charity should dwell) were busy here. But scandal should be no part of a traveller's

theme, and to him all private and domestic scenes should be sacred. Let Mr. Iskander and the Kolokol ring the changes on such subjects; let me rather make known the open-hearted hospitality which we all received from the inhabitants of that little place.

A few days after our arrival, the commodore, who had accompanied the Governor-General, Count Muraviëf some distance up the river, returned, and with him the Governor of Nicholaivsk, Admiral Kasakevitch. We then were all presented to his Excellency. He received me very affably, remarking that I was the first Englishman who had visited Nicholaivsk, and adding that he hoped to see them only as friends, but no more as enemies. He invited us all to dinner that day, and the invitation was repeated daily, and at these meetings I had opportunity to converse with many persons who had made long voyages on the Amoor and its tributaries for scientific and other purposes. Among the officers here, a few civilians were men of great attainments, which made me wonder at their being confined in such a remote spot, until the reason was explained to me.

The commercial interest of Nicholaivsk is centred in the North American Fur Company, having its head-quarters at Aian, and the lately formed company of the Amoor. To the former is guaranteed by the Russian Government many privileges and monopolies, viz. the timber and ice monopoly, and the exclusive trade in furs with China by way of Kiachta, for which tea is taken in exchange for the supply of Siberia and Russia. This company possesses several steam sloops plying between Sidka, Aian, and the fur trading posts of both

continents. I had the pleasure of making the acquaintance of Mr. Elsburg, the Governor of Aian, a lieutenant of the navy, and decorated with the cross of St. George, an honour bestowed only for high daring in the field. This gentleman obtained it at Sebastopol, where he commanded a battery which did good service, and led one or two successful night sorties against the French lines. The Amoor Company, for forwarding the navigation of the river, and commerce with the interior, has also several privileges from the Government, and besides the vessel lost in De Castries, we found on our return to that place three more large ships of the company just arrived, having on board the "matériel" for forwarding the views of the company, as also two English engineers to superintend the works, &c. The rest of the trading community is made up of three or four Americans, and a German merchant, Herr Lühdorf, formerly the supercargo of the brig *Greta*, which he hired to the Russians to transport the rest of the shipwrecked crew of the *Diana*, from Simoda to the Amoor, and which was captured by the *Barracouta*, when near her destination. This gentleman had much experience in commercial affairs in Japan from the first treaty in 1853, and published a small work on the subject a few years ago in Bremen.

A year or two ago, a certain Captain Vries and some companions arrived here with a steamboat to run up and trade on the Amoor. Although calling their boat after the Admiral Governor, they were surprised to find that the navigation of that river would only be the privilege of Russian subjects. Nothing daunted by

this, they applied for and obtained letters of naturalization from the Government, and the grant of a large parcel of land in the far interior. De Vries then returned to America, and is to come back with a body of free emigrants whom he will settle on his lands.

On the 7th October, I accompanied the Commodore in a steam pinnace, to visit a settlement of Ghelaks about five miles up the river on the south bank. The river opposite the town is about one mile wide, the southern banks rising high and precipitous, with many chasms here and there forming natural docks for building ships, and I heard that they would soon be used for that purpose. In a deep ravine, through which trickled a small stream, about a dozen houses and sheds comprised the Ghelak settlement. The buildings, the dress of both sexes, and the numerous teams of dogs, were just like what we had seen at Pronghe Point, but there seemed to be more comfort and civilization here. Three log cages attracted our attention, and on approaching them, some angry growls, and three or four painted muzzles protruding from between the logs, told us we were before the half-worshipped bears of the Manchoorian tribes. I asked, "Do these tribes really worship the bear?" To a certain extent they do, but the principal object is to fatten them for certain feasts, when they are killed with much ceremony, a dirge being sung over them something in this form:—"Do not think, dear bear, that it is we, the Ghelaks, who are killing you; it is the naughty Russians, and not we; take vengeance, therefore, on them, but not upon us."

Formerly it was the Mandjoors, Tongoose, or some

other hostile tribe who were accused of killing the bear, and the compliment was no doubt returned when they killed *their* fatted beast. The two cages in this village contained five of these animals.

These indigenous races do not seem in any way interfered with by the Russians, at least officially. Those in the neighbourhood of the posts or villages bring in their fish and furs, and receive in exchange bread, spirits, or silver, of which they well know the value. If the spot of their summer settlement is required for government, it is always paid for; and they are never forcibly dispossessed, if from any custom they are unwilling to move; but the greater part, I was told, choose their summer settlements as far as possible from their more civilized neighbours. I did not hear that any means are used to convert them to Christianity. In the winter all these tribes quit their dwellings on the shore, pack their traps on their sledges, and migrate to the more sheltered valleys of the interior, subsisting on the fish obtained during the summer, and on the plentiful produce of the chase. This consists chiefly of deer, bears, foxes, sables, beaver, &c., besides the "rabchick," or guinea-fowl, and other birds, caught by numbers in nooses.

On returning from this village, I visited the port, which is formed by a sandy spit stretching out into the river. Here were already preparations for ship-building, sawmills in full work, workshops, and, at the extreme point, a battery of twelve guns, throwing 80-pound shot. All the engineers employed, of whom there are three or four, were Americans.

Nicholaivsk is now the general winter rendezvous of

the ships of the Russian fleet on this station. Large enclosures of timbers driven into the bed of the river, are in front of the town, and afford protection to the laid-up vessels from the large blocks of ice which usher in and conclude the long winter. The officers and crews live on shore; and as they are as much soldiers as sailors, easily conform to the change from shipboard to barracks. One or two vessels, however, have occasionally wintered in the harbours south of De Castries; one, also, is always stationed at Hakodadi, at the disposal of the Russian Consul.

One of the chief amusements of winter, for those who can afford it, is sledging. This is, of course, very different from anything of the sort which the reader may have seen in Europe, or even in America, where horses are the moving power. Here trains of dogs, from twelve to twenty, are harnessed to the sledge; no reins are used, but the will of the driver is communicated by certain words to the leader of the pack. These leaders, generally Kamchatka dogs, which, when trained, fetch a high price, as much as 200 roubles, become so experienced in their duty, and their followers so expert in obeying them, that, though the course may be through a pine-forest, where there is scarcely room to pass, yet accidents seldom occur. If an upset does take place, there is no help for it; the dogs continue their career, and the unfortunate sledge-wrecked people must find their way home on foot, whither their dogs will have long preceded them. Farther north, reindeer are also used, when making the winter journey to Irkutsk from Aian, which is the general route; in summer, the Amoor

affords a slow but easy passage to the same destination.*

Our last night in Nicholaivsk was passed at a ball, got up for us by the hospitable inhabitants. The Governor was present, and all the chief persons of the town. I here saw the ladies of Nicholaivsk assembled—about fifteen in number: one rather pretty Polish lady, the type of thousands of her countrywomen; a Russian lady or two from St. Petersburg; the rest young wives, and *one* spinster, fresh from the Institute of Irkutsk.

It is only a pity, as I said before, that disunion exists amongst so small a society in such a remote country. But Hongkong and similar places are in much the same state, if not worse; for there the entrance into one coterie debars you from all the others, whereas the Governor here does all he can to preserve union by frequent convivial parties at his own house, and by well-applied lessons of love and charity. He is deservedly popular, and many an instance I heard of his goodness to different families when distressed by the non-arrival of provisions from the interior or of ships from the exterior, and his freely distributing the last of his own private stores to the most delicate part of his community. He is a man about forty, rather portly, and has resided some time in New York, where he superintended the building of ships for the navy.

The ball was kept up with much spirit until midnight, in spite of the disproportion of the sexes. One

* No landway exists from Nicholaivsk to Irkutsk. Travellers by land to the interior are obliged first to go by sea round to Aian, except in winter, when they can go by sledge up the frozen river.

dance I saw for the first time; it was called the Siberian Dance, and had this advantage, that you could begin and finish when you pleased. It was graceful enough, and seemed to consist in moving a lady round and round, then throwing her into the arms of another dancer, who in like manner had just delivered up his fair burden; and so on, till every gentleman has danced with every lady in the room. This is the national dance of Siberia and Kamchatka, and is called the Vosmërka. But I am no dancer, and my description does not perhaps do justice to it. There is another dance, a great favourite among the Kamchatdales, called the Bear Dance; its *poses*, which are not very delicate, consist in imitating the awkward gambols of a male and female bear. At midnight the Governor left, when the ladies followed his example, and the gentlemen sat down to sup.

On Sunday, the 9th October, the whole company met at the Governor's, after the Mass, and breakfasted there; after which his Excellency wished us all a happy voyage back, and we returned on board the *America*, whose steam was already up. A few miles distant we met a small fleet of ships, consisting of the corvettes which had been our consorts in Japan, and one or two ships of the North American Company; they had all reposed few or many hours on the soft sand-banks by the way. All anchored together for the night, and I bade adieu to one or two fine fellows who had accompanied us from Europe, and who would remain here on station.

Our journey back to De Castries Bay was as before: fogs compelling us to anchor; sudden decrease of

depths, which necessitated a boat's being sent to find the true channel; but, more fortunate than before, we never once touched the sand. The evening of the 11th we again anchored in De Castries Bay. The distance is 130 miles, and the time of actual steaming about twenty hours.

As our stay here was likely to be prolonged, on account of the aid given by our crew in saving from the wreck all that was possible, as well as by an inquiry to be made as to the causes of the disaster, I determined to profit by the delay, and explore the country a little. Accompanied by a sailor with provisions for three days, and armed with a double fowling-piece, I landed at the steps before the six wooden houses which compose Imperatorsky Post. The old post, De Castries, stands some hundred yards farther back, and is peopled by a few Cossacks, most of the houses being in a ruined or unfinished state. A log road runs north and south through it, and the whole looks like some idea only half carried out and then abandoned. The space cleared of wood may be about 500 acres. Vistas are made through the surrounding forest, by cutting down a single line of trees, and they all radiate from the village. There is a captain of the navy, and a small number of resident Cossacks under him.

A bridle-road, running north from the post, leads through marshes, often impassable, to the Osero, or lake of Keezn, which is rather a lagoon than a lake. After crossing this in a boat, a short road leads to Marinzky Post, on the river, 300 versts above Nicholaivsk, to which place you either descend in boats or on sledge, according to the season. This is the only

landway between De Castries and Nicholaivsk; the distance from the former place to Keezn is about forty versts, or twenty-three miles.

Following the estuary at the head of the bay, through pine-forests, grass-covered openings, and marshy bottoms, marking the outlet of some mountain stream, we reached the Salmon River—a pretty stream, apparently the delight of trout and salmon; but this was no attraction: in Europe I had spent days beating unprofitable streams; in these parts fish swarm, but the desire is wanting. Time is too short to waste hours in one spot when thousands of miles are before you, if you were only able to explore them.

On this stream a few ruined huts mark the spot of a former settlement of the natives, who have sought more remote quarters, for in the whole circuit of the bay I did not meet one. An almost imperceptible path in the woods following the seashore, and made, no doubt, by the natives in their hunting, led through moss knee-deep, over trees rotting below and others just fallen (with the chance of one crushing you, on a windy day or in winter), across deep ravines, in which clear, cold streams rushed over blocks of lava, and where large pieces of ice were already formed, or through mossy morasses through which the stream spread till it trickled over the trachyte cliffs of the bay,—such was the ground I trod. Above was the cold green of the fir, or the now brown foliage of the pine, with a thin skirt of beech-wood by the edge of the cliff, from which the gray squirrel bounded on our approach. Below, everywhere moss, the hiding-place of the rab-

chick; and creeping over that, a berry-bearing shrub, affording its fattening food. Gloom and silence, broken only by the sharp rap of the woodpecker, the rustle of the squirrel, or the flutter of some fowl you have been nearly treading upon, are the characteristics of a Siberian forest. Now and then a falling tree, killed by its too crowding progeny, startles you with its crash; or the murmur of an unseen rill insensibly soothes the mind to a few moments of empty reverie. What a contrast these cold, monotonous, empty woods of the North, to the teeming and variegated forests of tropical climes! Yet both, when once you have seen them, lose their greatest charms, as the mind recals the beech-covered slopes, the stately elms, and the oaken glades of one's dear old native home.

Our camping-places at night were the open log huts erected by the grass-cutters at the head of the estuaries —the only place where fodder is to be obtained. A blazing fire of pine-wood, broken up, and dried by exposure, was made in the middle of the hut; around the walls a couch of dried grass, a foot thick, afforded a good bed; and a blanket was small protection against the sharp, cold air of night. Two sailors, who had been sent out to shoot game for the cabin, came in shortly after we had taken up our quarters the first night. A rabchick, roasted on a ramrod, and a cup of tea, restored weary nature; and as I lay back on the soft grass, and smoked my manilla, I could not help thinking that romance-reading of Western American life was the reason why I was lying there in the almost open forest, instead of sleeping in my warm cabin on board. That imagination is much more pleasing than reality

has, no doubt, been the feeling of many an enthusiast pioneer or adventurous gentleman hunter in the wilds of India or of Southern Africa.

Half lost in the smoke, the three Russian sailors were preparing their soup from rabchick and wild ducks. Roast game had no attraction for them, but a soup made savory with onions and garlic is their delight. I could see and hear that they were now quite in their element. The Russian peasant has much of the character of a backwoodsman. Give him an axe in the middle of the forest, and in a day or two he will show you a neat log hut; in a few more days stools, tables, eating utensils, &c., the whole the work of his axe and pocket-knife, will give an air of rough comfort to his abode. Two of these men were from the Ural mountains, inured to rough life, to hunting the bear and the wolf. To them the sea and its life were unnatural. Here in the midst of the forest they were perfectly at home. They could imitate the cries of the different birds and animals, and with such good effect too, that it brought a number of the former within range of our guns. I distributed the contents of my brandy flask among them, and left them recalling to one another the scenes of their village life as I fell asleep.

The next day I met with a little accident which might have proved serious. I had separated from my sailor to beat down both sides of a small river, and on arriving at its mouth, sat down to wait for the appearance of my man on the other side. Presently I heard his musket discharged about 100 yards to windward of me, and a few seconds after the long angry

growl of a bear which seemed much nearer. It immediately struck me that the man had fired at the animal, and that as it takes many balls to kill it, if they are not properly applied, it had attacked the sailor before he could load again. I scrambled quickly through the rocky bed of the river, one step scarcely covering my foot and the next plunging me up to my waist, till I pitched head foremost over a rock, and only saved my gun from getting wet at the expense of splitting the stock. Splicing it in haste with my pocket-handkerchief when on the other side, I rammed a ball down over the shot, but, misfortune on misfortune, the barrel was foul from much shooting, and the bullet stuck in the middle. Vainly I tried to send it home, my ramrod snapped under the attempt, and the only chance then was to put half a dozen revolver balls in the free barrel, which I immediately did, and set off full speed through the brushwood for the shore, from which it had seemed to me that the noise came.

On coming to the spot, where I supposed the animal to be, I saw traces of its presence, in a quantity of half-crushed crawfish among the lava stones at high-water mark and the newly scratched sand, which had fallen as it scrambled up the cliff; but not a sign of its being wounded. I came to the conclusion that it had heard the report of the sailor's gun, which had disturbed it in its meal, when it had, most wisely for itself and fortunately for me, taken its departure. Nevertheless, I mounted the cliff, and shouted with the hope of bringing the sailor to the spot, but without effect. As night was drawing on, I returned to the hut, and sat down by the fire to await his coming, but my

anxiety was not relieved until three hours after nightfall, when he made his appearance. He had neither seen nor heard anything of the bear, nor of my shouting, as he was to windward and a fresh breeze was blowing.

The whole country swarms with these animals, except in the immediate neighbourhood of the posts, and they were met with two or three times by our men when in the woods or on the shore; but they invariably got away as fast as their slouching quick walk would let them, and the men, not having balls with them, thought it prudent not to follow. Some are of very large size, of a rusty black or brown, and subsist on shell-fish and the wild berries and honey of the woods. In spite of the wonderful tales of some travellers, they are not dangerous, unless wounded or brought to bay, when one hug is generally enough for man or dog. I certainly would not have shot at one if alone; but with four barrels, and knives to fall back on, the temptation of having a skin under those circumstances would have been too great to resist. For an amateur hunter, whose nerves have not been already proved by a ten-feet encounter with some ferocious beast, it is much better to leave Bruin in peace. The officers of the *Voyavoda*, who ventured in Olga Bay farther south, related that bears might be seen walking by dozens over the ice of the bay, and the pertinacity of one enormous fellow in visiting the ship every morning earned him the name of the Port Admiral. The Cossacks in the interior shoot a great number during the winter. They go out early in the morning, and the thin curl of blue vapour from the bear's breath in the frosty air discovers to them the

lair of the beast. Resting their long heavy rifles on cross-sticks, they rouse out the animal with dogs, and shoot him through the brain as he comes out of the darkness into the light.

Among other quadrupeds, foxes, deer, and hares are abundant at some distance from the posts. The celebrated blue fox, whose skin fetches such a fabulous price in Petersburg, is only found farther north. Beaver and sable skins are also brought from the interior or from Sagalien. If bought from the natives, silver only will be taken; tobacco and rum attract no more, except in remote parts, where no intercourse exists with the posts. Dollars and roubles are as much appreciated in these parts as in Canton or Shanghai. Sable skins fetch from five to twelve silver roubles, while beaver skins cannot be had for less than from twelve to forty roubles, and fetch four times as much in Petersburg. Gray squirrels abound in the woods, and I shot several. Their skins may be had for about ten to fifteen roubles a hundred; one officer bought a lot of three hundred for thirty roubles. Seals are numerous, and the sea-otter is a valuable prize for its beautiful skin.

Frequent mention has been made of the rabchick. This bird is much like a guinea-fowl, its flesh white and delicious. They are so abundant, that you may almost trample them under foot; and so tame and stupid, that shooting before a barn door may afford as good sport in Europe. One bird actually flew up and seemed inclined to perch on the barrel of my gun as I was in the act of firing at another. Another time I had fired both barrels at some ducks, and was quietly

loading again, as my eye caught sight of a bird not ten feet from me, evidently interested in my proceedings, for he was watching me with his head on one side. When I had finished loading, I walked back forty paces, and shot him as he was continuing his previous occupation of eating pebbles to assist his digestion. There was much dire necessity, however, for such downright murder; tough salt beef and insipid preserves were not to be compared to the tender and delicious flesh of the rabchick. We shot numbers during three or four days. The great difficulty is to find them in the deep moss, as you may walk over them without knowing it; if I had had a dog, the veriest cur that could run and yelp, I could have shot hundreds. My sailor, with his quill whistle imitating their cry, shot many more than I did.

The other birds I met with were two or three species of snipes, ducks, and teal. Wild swans and geese were also plentiful in more retired spots, but required a boat to get near them. Thousands of ducks fed in the estuaries of the bay at low water, and their splashing and cackling could be heard miles off. Teal I found abundant up the rushy rivulets, and their pursuit led me to many a beautiful spot, generally our halting place for dinner. On one of these occasions, I was surprised at the sudden appearance of another sportsman, whom I recognized immediately for a Yankee.

This gentleman I found to be the chief engineer of the Russian transport *Japonitz*, and he joined me for a more extended excursion, till a tumble down thirty feet of cliff sickened him from further search, and obliged us to return home.

On the following days I explored all the north shores of the bay through the forest, returning by the beach. The whole coast is composed of trachyte and black lava cliffs, veined here and there with red lava, and hollowed out in places by the surf, forming caverns with pillars of nature's architecture. Fresh water everywhere filtrates from the base of the rocks; quantities of oysters and other shell-fish cover the base of the cliff, and it seemed to be the resort of the bear and the fox for feeding. The only other objects of interest I saw were two weather-bleached skulls of white men lying in the thick moss. Not having the poetical desire to convert the seat of thought into drinking-cups, I placed them on young fir-stems, and left them there nodding in the haze, and grinning their ghastly smiles.

On the 21st of October, everything that was possible had been got out of the wreck. An inquiry had been held, and no blame attributed to the captain, who, finding a sandy bottom, had let go his anchor; the ground, however, was interspersed with lava rocks, and on these his anchor dragged. More blame was due to those on shore, who gave him no warning, and did not point out a proper anchorage.*

* But the month of October is altogether too late for ships to arrive from Europe, as, especially if they be deep in the water, they must be lightened in De Castries Bay before proceeding into the river; and when arrived there, before the cargoes can be got out, they are already locked in for the winter. These store-ships, by arriving so late, were obliged to winter in the Amoor, besides keeping the Government steam transports constantly employed in rendering them assistance. The weather is also then very boisterous, and much risk is incurred on entering the river.

Early in the morning we steamed out of the bay, and the same evening were beating down south against strong winds. The end of our voyage had been reached, and we were now homeward bound.

CHAPTER XIII.

Russian Colonies of the Amoor—Description—Boundaries—Island of Sagalien—Bays on the Coast—Usuri River—Capabilities of Country—Cossacks and their Difficulties—Difficulties of Colonization—Future of Nicholaivsk—Remarks on former Writings about this Country—Utility of these Colonies to Russia—Return to Hakodadi—English and French Consul—Disputes with Governor—Farewell to Japan.

THE vast river Amoor, according to Maury the seventh in size of all the streams of the earth, drains regions 583,000 square miles in extent. It commences at the confluence of the Argoon and the Shilka, both of which drain extensive water-sheds. At their point of junction stands the Cossack post of Ost Strelka. From here to the mouth of the river is 3,000 versts, or about 1,700 miles, navigable for boats of not more than eight feet.* Besides one or two unimportant streams from the north, it receives from the south two considerable rivers, the Sungari and the Usuri. In its course it flows first to the S.E., making a broad sweep, then to the N.E. at 200 miles from its mouth, and turns suddenly to the N.; afterwards it bends to the E., and enters the gulf or liman of the Amoor, opposite the N.W. side of the island of Sagalien.

The whole left bank of the Amoor is now Russian territory. On the right bank all that region bounded

* Smaller boats of iron to draw only eighteen inches, or two feet, have lately arrived, and will soon push their way up the smaller streams into the very heart of Asia.

by the Usuri as far as the lakes of Khinka, by the Gulf of Tartary, and by a frontier line not yet defined between the lakes of Khinka and Passette Bay, or Napoleon's Bay, about the forty-second parallel of latitude, belongs also to Russia. The treaty which added the greater part of this territory to Russia was negotiated during the past year at Aigunt, an ancient Chinese town near to Sagalien-Dla-Choton, by the Governor-General, and completed in the three days in the business-like manner said to be peculiar to that statesman in his relations with Oriental powers.

Opposite, and extending nearly parallel to this coast, lies the island of Sagalien, the northern part being Russian, the southern Japanese. In the northern part, Ghelaks from the main land form the bulk of the inhabitants; in the southern part are the Ainos, from the Japan islands. Posts of Cossacks are stationed in the one part, of Japanese in the other, to keep possession, and control the inhabitants. The boundary line, about 48° parallel, is at a place called Suconai, where both Russians and Japanese are posted within a short distance of each other. The Russians have another post at Douaï, or La Perouse Bay, where there is a bed of coal of excellent quality, if taken at a little distance from the shore. The chief Japanese establishment on the island is at Aniwa Bay.*

* The late visit of the Governor of Siberia to Yedo was to demand the cession to Russia of the southern part of the island, the possession of which is considered necessary to the integrity of the newly-formed Amoor territory. The Japanese, after much procrastination, refused to give it up. I have heard, however, since my return to Europe, that they had consented to cede it, reserving the rights of wooding and fishing. It is from the settlement at Aniwa Bay that

The right bank of the Amoor between the Argoon and the Usuri is inhabited by the Mandjoorians, who have one city of about 20,000 inhabitants, Sagalien-Dla-Choton, on the river.* North of these are the Tungoose. Around the mouth of the river the inhabitants are called Ghelaks, while southward along the coast of Tartary are found various tribes of Mongolians, with a few Chinese, settlers or refugees. The Russian posts on the river are from twenty to fifty versts apart; most of them comprising only a few huts and a small space of land cleared from the forest. The settlers are called without distinction Cossacks. The chief settlements are Blagovéschensk, opposite the town of Sagalien-Dla-Choton, Marinsky Post, near De Castries Bay, and Nicholaivsk, a short distance from the mouth of the river.

Of the bays on the Gulf of Tartary, many were only lately discovered by the steamers of the English squadron during the war. Vladimir Bay was discovered by the yacht *America*, in 1857, when conveying Admiral Putiatin on his diplomatic mission to China. Passette Bay was entered by the *Pallas* frigate in 1854, and good coal has since been discovered there. The chief ports on the coast of Tartary are De Castries, Imperatorsky Bay, Ports Olga, Vladimir, and Passette. I here give the Russian names;

the Japanese have always drawn their supplies of wood, fish, and furs. If the report I heard be true, the change cannot but be beneficial to the Ainos, who are kept under most iron slavery by their Japanese conquerors.

* This region includes all that country watered by the Sungari, a classical land with the Manchoos. The founders of the Manchoo Dynasty were born on the banks of the Sungari.

others were given to them by the English naval officers, and are marked on the English charts. Many more are still, no doubt, to be discovered, as the coast is only half surveyed. These harbours, whose shores are destined one day to become the sites of towns, are sheltered and safe resorts for ships. Only one or two are blocked by ice during the winter. Those most to the south are surrounded by a beautiful country, totally different from that around De Castries and Barracouta harbours to the north. Around Olga and Vladimir bays, the oak, beech, and the walnut have taken the place of the fir and the pine; and the vine grows wild, and covers the ground with its creeping foliage. The summer is longer, and, although the winter is severe, still the cold does not exceed that of the northern part of Central Europe.

The inhabitants, numerous around these southern posts, are known by the name of Mansa and Tarsa. They are a race between the Chinese and the Tungoose; abhor the Mandjoors, who border on them towards the interior, and subsist by hunting, fishing, &c. A great number of Chinese refugees are mixed with them.

About 150 versts from Nicholaivsk, the Amoor makes its broad sweep to the southward, and then, again, a better climate already begins; but the country bordering the Usuri, and that on the Amoor far westward, to the provinces called Trans-Baikal from the lake of that name, will be the home of the future colonist. On the Usuri magnificent timber, of oak, cedar, and pine, unlike the useless stunted trees farther north, is abundant. Canoes of the natives, forty feet long and

five feet wide, hollowed from a single cedar tree, were seen by a gentleman lately returned from surveying the river. The soil is also more fertile, and vast plains of fine pasture may become the roaming place of thousands of cattle and sheep. Flax grows wild; so do grapes, and I tasted some in Nicholaivsk which were like the outdoor grapes in England; also nuts of different kinds. The summer is long, but the winter is severer than near the coast, the thermometer descending then to 40° of Reaumur, but the weather is clear and more free from wind. Corn, hides, tallow, and timber could be produced in any quantity; and when water communication becomes more extended, they may be shipped for the markets of China. But the hand of man is wanting, and is likely to be so for a long time; Captain Vries and his band of emigrants, whom I before mentioned, may no doubt do well, assisted as they will be by mechanical inventions for clearing and improving land. This information I obtained from gentlemen, some of whom had visited the country as explorers for the Government, others as hunters or amateur travellers; and although it is the opinion in Western Europe that nothing good can come out of Siberia, yet nature there has been as liberal in many parts as elsewhere.

But as yet there is no chance of its colonization to any extent. The whole population of Siberia does not much exceed two millions. That on the river, scattered in small villages of a few houses, does not, at the greatest possible stretch, exceed ten thousand; and this includes the military at the different posts. Many are criminals from Europe, others former settlers from

Western Siberia, to whom the Government has given land and assistance during the first year or two of their arduous task. A small patch of land cleared from the forest is all that they are able to reclaim. These people are all called "Cossacks," though not really so, and are under military law, to be embodied in case of necessity. Their settlements may be seen from thirty to fifty versts apart, and their only communication with each other is by the occasional steamboats, or cattle rafts, that pass up and down the river.

Anxious as Russia is to populate these her colonies, years and years must elapse before her object can be attained. In Europe her millions are too few for her home territory. Her government is no longer what it was, to banish without cause; and Western Siberia and the mines will still receive her criminals. Some thousands of soldiers, condemned by military law for different offences, were distributed not long ago in the various provinces; and about fifteen hundred women, foundlings, prostitutes, and other offenders, I heard, had also lately been sent. The immigration of Chinese is naturally closed for political reasons; Germans and other colonizing peoples find too much attraction in Australia and in the different provinces of the vast American continent, to seek their home in Siberia. The name is too ominous; and though they know that the Russian Government would afford them every protection, and even assistance, still they know that they might at any time be subjected to thousands of vexations from subordinate officials in so remote a district.

Nicholaivsk, under present circumstances, can never be more than it is—a military post—and must procure

its supplies from the interior, or from the shipping. The long transit each way causes everything to be excessively dear; if any delay occurs, dearth and suffering ensue. When the interior shall have been made productive, and the difficulties of navigation to it shall have been diminished, then may Nicholaivsk become a place of commercial importance, at least for four months in the year; but whispers were afloat that it was to be almost abandoned for a more favourable spot. De Castries Bay, free from ice all the year round, was to be connected with the Amoor by a short line of railway to Marinsky Post, already mentioned; or the bay of Olga, 600 miles farther south, was spoken of as the future position of the chief settlement. This bay would be put in communication with the river Usuri by road or railway of 150 versts, and the country about the river and its capabilities had already been studied by engineers. Port Olga, being just opposite to Japan, and much nearer to China, would seem to have the preference.

A few more words before I bid farewell to the Russian settlements of Eastern Siberia. They seem lately to have become a cry of terror to newspaper writers. Special correspondents from St. Petersburg wrote home that railways were in contemplation from Moscow to Nicholaivsk, and that public subscriptions were on foot throughout all Russia for that purpose. So much amusement did this intelligence create on board, that the extract was forwarded to St. Petersburg to be laughed at there. The difficulties to be overcome in making a railway over thousands of miles of desert, forest, morass, and mountain, through a country

which produces nothing, and where commerce is at present but limited, are so great, that years must elapse before such an attempt could even be seriously contemplated. The great benefit of the Amoor navigation is to open a way into Central Asia from the Pacific by water, to supply its inland towns by sea instead of by the present expensive land conveyance, and to establish a power on all available parts of the coast, not so much, perhaps, with a view to immediate colonization, as to keep out other nations, which, if they formed settlements there, might become disagreeable frontier neighbours.

Again, I have read reports of thousands of men having been marched through Siberia with as much ease as they could be from Petersburg to Odessa. The writer could never have known what a Siberian forest is, nor have thought a moment how so many men could be supported. At the settlements the Cossacks are not even able to grow sufficient food for their own wants. A traveller by sledge in winter can never be certain if he will find food for himself and his dogs. One instance of the march of a small body of men will suffice to show the difficulties to be contended against. During the war a battalion of about 1,000 men was sent from Irkutsk to the shores of the Pacific. They entered the gloomy forests and marshes; soon their provisions fell short; all their cattle and horses were killed. Added to these miseries they lost their way; the path became strewn with corpses; advance was slow, some four or five versts per day, and that only made by cutting a way through the wood. Retreat soon became almost as impossible as an advance

At last, reduced to starvation, they dug up the bodies of their dead and devoured them. Lots who should die were cast among the living, and some forty or fifty poor wretches of all the battalion were saved. Now that steamboat communication has been established on the river, small bodies of men might be conveyed during four months of the year, during those months when the river is free from ice.

The author of *The Chinese and their Rebellions* has also drawn a terrible picture (flattering to those whom it most concerns) of Russia's vast armaments in the East, of the future conquest of China by them, when the harbours of that country are to be turned into war ports, and its long-tailed boatmen into sailors, —to do what?—to carry the Russian arms over the Pacific, and turn the fat lands and gold-fields of California and Mexico into a Russian colony. Verily, that gentleman must have looked with such a strong glass into the long vista of time, that a thousand years must have appeared to him but as a moment. The future is a subject hard to grasp; and the most that wise nations can do is, to judge by the experience of the past, study well the condition of the present, and keep themselves well prepared for any emergency of the time to come. The work which the interest of Russia seems to have marked out for her for many years to come lies clearly in the centralization of her power, the exportation of her industry, the reform of her political economy, and, above all, the controlling of that social revolution out of which will proceed the class known in Europe as the middle class. Such changes, when not brought about by the plastic hand of time,

but by sudden revolution, are quite sufficient to exert the whole energy, and call forth all the anxiety, of any government; but when once they are accomplished, and the nation remains consolidated under the influence of a clear guiding mind and strong will, then such a nation as Russia must greatly be feared, especially on any disturbance of the balance of power in Europe.

As regards the naval establishments of Russia in Eastern Asia, they are looked upon as an excellent school for the instruction and training of the navy, by means of the voyage there and back to Europe, and the three years' station of most of the ships which go thither. Many naval officers, I am aware, consider the ports there as convenient for the sending out of privateers in case of any war with a sea-going power; but they are also quite aware that for every Russian ship on station on the coast of Tartary, the English would consider it necessary to have two about China or Japan. Such being the case, I do not consider that our Indo-Chinese possessions would have more reason to fear an attack in case of hostilities, than we should at home fear an invasion from our neighbours over the water.

A few days' sail from De Castries brought us for the third time to Hakodadi.

In addition to the Russian and American flags we now saw the English and French colours flying from one of the temples. The Consul, who represents both nations, had arrived only a few days before, and was already in hot dispute with the Governor. To such a pitch had it arrived that the Consul, in the joint names

of England and France, requested Commodore Popoff to delay his departure for a few days. When the Governor was informed of this, he gave in; the usual mode of acting when affairs assumed a serious aspect.

The dispute arose about the changing of money, and the manner in which supplies were furnished by the Comprador. According to the treaty foreigners were to trade with the natives without the intervention of a third party. But nothing could ever be obtained, not even provisions, except through the Comprador, who charged extravagant prices, the profits from which went into the pocket of the Governor. The Consul demanded that full freedom should be given to purchase directly from the country people.

The Consul had also brought up with him 80,000 itsheboos from Yedo for the Governor of Hakodadi. A few days afterwards, he sent his servant with a thousand dollars to be changed into Japanese coin and was refused. This was a second point of dispute. The night before we sailed from Hakodadi the Consul wrote to the Russian Commodore that everything had been amicably arranged with the Governor.

This is another example of the manner of dealing with foreigners by the Japanese authorities, and the arrival of our Consul was very much needed to put a stop to much insolence and double-dealing on the part of the authorities; for the American trade agent was too little respected to have that influence which his position entitled him to. M. Gaskewitch, on the other hand, did not feel disposed, without a sufficient cause being given him, to enter into disputes, or to make any change in the system which had existed since the

port was opened; but the English Consul, with great energy and wisdom, as soon as he commenced his official duties, demanded that the articles of the treaty should be fulfilled to the letter, and it would seem he gained his point, at least for a time.

The houses in Hakodadi, on this our third visit, were adorned from top to bottom with the huge white radishes of the country, which were being prepared for winter use. Horses laden with wood, deerskins, and fruits, were constantly arriving by piles, and the streets were busy with men and women, packing or unpacking, washing or cutting up vegetables, making soy, and pickling sea-weed.

And we, having made our last purchases, took leave of Japanese land, and returned on board.

The next morning I was to have proceeded in the gunboat *Plastoon* to Olga Bay. That vessel had taken on board most of our guns, and was going to mount them on the batteries lately erected in that port. But the plan was changed, and the two corvettes left for St. Francisco, the gunboat receiving orders to join us in Honolulu after she had accomplished her task.

CHAPTER XIV.

Gale—Arrival in St. Francisco—The Town and its Inhabitants—Mixture of Nationalities—Newspapers—Theatres—Fast Living of Americans in California—Editors—Visitors on Board—The Rowdies and the Irish—Dark Side of St. Francisco—Fire Companies—Suggested introduction into England—Public Honours—Popular Feeling.

THE track between Japan and North America has only during the last few years become one of the highways of the ocean, and consequently little is known of its navigation, winds, &c. We had left the coast of Japan about a hundred miles behind, when a violent gale from the western quarter came down upon us, and continued for eight days without abating, and every hour or two increased by furious squalls, accompanied with sleet, hail, and rain. Flying before this gale under close-reefed topsails, the two corvettes sometimes sailed as much as fourteen knots the hour, and while it lasted we lived the life of ducks; there was not a dry inch below or above, and though I had become pretty well hardened, I began to wish for more moderate weather even at the expense of a longer voyage. Yet it is a glorious feeling when, in health and strength, you find yourself thus borne on before the tempest. Those vast waves, which, if the ship were stationary, would crush her beneath their weight,

roll beneath you from stern to the bows, elevating each part in turn. Sometimes the cone of a wave full forty feet from its base would form by the stern or on the beam, and pour down its cataracts of foaming water on the deck; or another would culminate a few yards from the ship, the foam on its crest reflecting all the colours of the prism, and then fall like a torrent down into the valley of the waters, making the ocean look on a clear day like a broken field of azure, covered with snowdrift. During this storm we were between the parallels of 41° and 44°.

When the weather abated, it became as baffling as it had been boisterous before. Light contrary winds, fogs, and damp accompanied us to our destination. For days guns had to be fired at intervals, to keep the corvettes together, and the mingled sound of bell and trumpet was not the most delicious music to have ringing in one's ears night and day.

On Sunday, 11th December, we made land, and a fine pilot schooner coming off to us we were in the evening anchored off the Golden Gate, waiting for the flood to help us in, as we found Japanese coal, as usual, worse than useless. Late the same night we were anchored before St. Francisco, the Queen of the Pacific.

The entrance of the harbour has been compared to the "Goulet" of Brest, and is certainly one of the finest ports in the world. The only thing against it is that during S.E. winds, which blow stormily during the winter months, the entrance is difficult, owing to a bar from which the waves rebound to a height often dangerous to ships. The two arms of the bay are the

outlets of two large rivers, and many smaller ones, a circumstance which causes the ebb to run longer and with more force than the flood tide.

The town is built on several hills, its streets laid out at right angles, designated in the European fashion by names and not by numbers, as in most of the new American towns. Its houses are like its population—an aristocratic-looking pile overtops a poor diminutive little wooden hut; a ready-made, zinc-topped, iron house, remembrancer of former times, is thrown in here and there; the majority of the houses, however, are of wood. One street of large buildings, parallel with the sea, seems devoted to wholesale trade, the others are filled with hotels and shops. The hotels are nearly all very large; the shops display a luxury which is hardly to be equalled in London or Paris, especially those of the jewellers and other dealers in costly superfluities. There is a Broadway; a large government building containing the post-office, custom-house, &c.; and churches enough of all denominations to contain all the sinners of California. The click of the trowel, and the noise of the pick, are heard from morning till night; brick and stone edifices in all stages of construction meet the eye, and St. Francisco is slowly putting off its chrysalis crust of former days, to emerge as one of the most beautiful cities of modern date.

And what of its cosmopolitan population? I had not been on shore two hours before I had conversed with members of every European nation, who had become blended into the heterogeneous mass of American citizenship. Prominent-nosed persons, with dark eyes and resplendent chains, were first and foremost;

they were from Posen chiefly, but their numbers were swelled from every clime. The Jews have brought their old predilections into the New World, and are quite in their element among piles of ready-made clothing and boxes of cigars. But to their credit be it said they have brought also with them their industry, perseverance, and love of order which make good citizens. Germans abound here; they have their beer cellars, their Schiller-feasts, their lieder-tafelen, and sing-vereine, when roher schinken, lager bier, and bumper-nickel are consumed amid the sonatas of Beethoven and the chokingly pathetic lieder of Schubert. Laughed at, as I have seen him here, it is no less true that the presence of the German, with his inborn poetry, his music, his love of art, is a most civilizing element among a rough and turbulent population, whose *summum bonum* is gold, and whose every thought by day, and dream by night, is the means of acquiring it.

The French form also their part of Californian society. They are vendors of French wines and keepers of restaurants, of course with *chambres à part*. Swiss and Bohemians are busy with their watch-making; Chinese are washing and ironing in their little houses; Mexicans and Spanish Creoles wander about, doing God knows what; while Russians, Poles, and all other white nations occupy themselves as they can. The negro race is also well represented in the shape of waiters, shoeblacks, and vendors of fruit.

Every nationality has its newspaper of course, some two or three. Not to speak of some twenty in the English language, there are French, German, Italian,

Spanish, and Chinese. What they found to write about, except when the mail arrived, I could not at first imagine, but on taking the trouble to look through them, I satisfied myself. The English ones, I soon saw, had plenty to do in recording the squabbles of party and their own; here a "Democrat" pitching into an "Independent," and there a "Liberal" hurling defiance at the "Friend of his Country." Another, edited by an Irishman, was calling up all the wrongs his country had suffered since the days of Henry, and breathing out fire and brimstone against England; while in one column was a subscription list, to which poor good-natured Pat had been contributing for the purchase of the ingredients. Some of the journals had glowing accounts of new mines, which would send thousands flocking to the spot; of duels between honourable members, and street fights between editors; here a jury burnt in effigy, because it would not do as the people, the sovereign people, wished; and there two judges sitting on the same bench, both elected, talking each other down, and all but coming to blows. Murders filled up all the little corners. "Lo, the poor Indian," stolen from Pope's *Essay on Man*, mockingly headed a paragraph recording the last struggle and the expulsion from their plains or hills of some remnant of an Indian tribe. Then followed columns of advertisements, in which every act of friendship and love was offered to the public, with most incredible generosity, by men who were ruining themselves just for the pleasure of supplying their neighbours' wants.

Several of the papers, however, are well conducted,

and try, after the spirit of true journalism, to guide the public taste instead of pandering to it, and to uphold the good work by which social order has been evolved out of the chaos which existed here from the beginning; for order does exist, and is supported in downright earnest. If crime is committed, the penalty soon follows. Though duels are of frequent occurrence, they are not the less condemned both by pulpit and press, though the gentlemen of the latter are often the chief transgressors. A senator was killed in a duel, a short time before our arrival, by a judge of the Supreme Court; several minor duels in various parts took place during our stay. The law forbids, but public opinion upholds, the practice.

As there are newspapers in all tongues, so there are theatres of all nations—English, German, French, Spanish, Negro, and Chinese, and, to crown all, an Italian opera. Their merits consist, as a laughing Frenchman told me, in the quantity rather than quality of their entertainments, an opinion which I can endorse.

Out of the 80,000 inhabitants of St. Francisco, I heard that not more than 10,000 were native Americans. All kinds of institutions of the East, schools, asylums, prisons, &c., are here established, or on the point of being so; indeed, St. Francisco is already far ahead of many of the older towns in her institutions, and immeasurably so in the liberality of the ideas which govern them. It has overland communication twice a week through a country filled with predatory Indians, steamboats *vid* Panama bi-monthly, telegraph communication, and local railways, and preparations are

on foot for the great Pacific Railroad, the hope of California. In projects of possibilities and impossibilities, new ideas for himself or his country, sane or insane, Cousin Jonathan is inexhaustible. Restless, nervous, selfish yet generous, liberal yet *borné*, he can do everything and be anything, except be quiet, and that is not in his nature. He has finished his five or six courses at dinner before a European gets through his soup; and an Italian gentleman, after dining for the first time at an American *table-d'hôte*, gave me this account of the experiment:—"I sit down with seventy or eighty persons, I take a piece of bread and a radish, I put my napkin on my knees, and when I eat my soup, I look up and see I am quite alone." Drinking is despatched in the same fashion,—cognac, cobblers, cock-tails, mint-juleps, lager beer, and smashes, are taken at flying visits, washed down by glasses of iced water; while a "keep your head clear," taken the first thing in the morning, is recommended as a capital anti-headache preparation to banish the effects of yesterday, and prepare for the coming campaign. The agile citizens behind the bar resemble apothecaries mixing up antidotes for poison, with such agility do they dispense their medicines from the different bottles, pounding, shaking up, and giving directions (to the stranger) how the mixture is to be taken. Smoking (the best Havana cigars in the world are to be had in St. Francisco) and *using* tobacco (chewing) seem to be the most congenial joys, as they can be exercised in a state of locomotion. The national weed, made up into cakes like preserved vegetables, and called by all sorts of enticing names, from Jenny Lind down to

the latest discovered, the Rose of California, is in general request. Spitting, of course, is the natural result; but as Dickens, and latterly Mackay, have written largely on the subject, I will only mention that our Secretary having gone one night into the first row of stalls at the theatre, he assured me that the water was trickling down in rills over the partition dividing them from the orchestra, and that the deal boards had from frequent staining become like imitation mahogany.

"We are going on too much ahead; we are living too fast!" a sensible American said to me one day. "This constant dram-drinking, everlasting smoking, chewing, and, worse than all, spitting, are gradually consuming those who indulge in them. They beget a restless disposition, thirst after excitement, and morbid feelings, which too often lead to those acts which foreigners reproach us with."

A day or two after our arrival the corvette was visited by a body of five or six persons, editors and reporters of the *Alta California* newspaper, who had come in search of news. Before this, many of the officers on shore had been pounced upon by news-greedy reporters, and bled of all the information they had to give about the countries we had just left. After our visitors had spent half the day on board, and explored every part of the vessel, there appeared next day a long notice, critical and complimentary, on the *Rynda* in particular and on the Russians in general, and the article wound up by giving the public a general invitation on board; so that the next day, and every day as long as we remained in port, we had

visitors of all degrees, male and female. Fortunately, boat hire was very expensive, or our decks would have been covered; but extreme delicacy was not the failing of many, who coolly expressed a wish, and, I believe, expected it would be gratified, that boats should be sent from the ship to convey them on board—a duty which would have kept the crews pretty well occupied.

Among the visitors one day, when I was on board, were an officer of the Government, his wife, and another lady; the younger and unmarried lady I judged, from her conversation and manners, to be one of those "strong-minded women" who abound in the States. After I had listened for some time with much amusement to her opinions and exalted ideas, she began to talk about the English.

"I do detest the English," said she.

The officers present gave me a sly look and a smile; but I had not spoken a word as yet.

"Do you?" said I, laughing; "I am sorry to hear such hard words from so pretty a mouth. What has given you cause for such hatred?"

"You've put your foot in it now, my dear," said the gentleman.

"They are all so proud and haughty when they come among us," continued the young lady.

"But there are plenty of them here, and they cannot be all so."

"But I mean those one cares about knowing."

"You forget that gentleman the other day who was playing the amiable with you, and how surprised you were when you heard it was Lord G——," said the gentleman, quietly.

"And they are so spiteful in England, and write such satirical things about us," remarked the other lady.

I remembered to have read some notes on American ladies, wherein they were somewhat ridiculed, and especially a remark made, that though generally pretty when young, they lost both their beauty and their health after they once became mothers. Finding she had also read this, I at once accounted for her feelings —her self-love was wounded. Yet she must have felt herself an exception, for she was what would be called in England a "splendid woman."

In fact, jealousy and wounded vanity seemed to make up the ill-feeling towards England of Americans whom I met; that is, of those who had any self-respect. "Don't say a word against us and our glorious institutions, and you can think, say, and do what you like in America," said a red-hot patriot to me one day.

"Damn that fellow, Dickens," said another; "and there's your Dr. Mackay crowing the same song over again."

And what nine-tenths of the people know about the remarks of either of these gentlemen is from paragraphs copied into the newspapers, insidiously contrived to enumerate all the foibles, but none of the good qualities, which those writers ascribe to Americans. Yet the lash is applied still more vigorously by their native authors. It is the old story of the man who suffered his own wife to whip him, but felt dreadfully indignant that anyone else should try to do the same. The hatred

of the rowdies and adventurers is of quite another kind: it is a cry with them to further their own interest. They would all become firm supporters of the "glorious British constitution" to-morrow if it would gain them a dollar more than their present occupation.

"You're an Englishman!" said a well-dressed fellow to me one day, in the bar-room of an hotel.

"Am I?"

"Curse the English!" said he. "There is as much difference between them and an American as there is between a Missouri man and a New Yorker."

I did not well understand whether he put the New Yorker or the Missouri man in the same category with the English.

As he turned away the landlord whispered to me in German:—

"*Der Kerl ist selbst ein Engländer!*" (The fellow is himself an Englishman.)

A likely volunteer for St. Juan!

Poor Pat is the most consistent of them all. He hates, without knowing why; he's used to it. The priest tells him it's all right, and he's quite satisfied. He gives a yell of delight and his vote to the mob-orator who deals most in blood, murder, and extermination against the object of his hatred; but, except when he is drunk, which is only too often, he is industrious, willing, good-hearted, and not at all disposed to the indulgence of any blood-thirsty propensities.

And the night-side of St. Francisco society—the

polluted, yet glittering dregs of a cosmopolitan population! Nowhere in Europe, not even at Hamburg, is there such a traffic in vice, and nowhere does it make such a display. The importation of women from New York forms a branch of commerce; and if a pamphlet, written by a physician, on the women of California, be in the least true, wives and matrons do not hesitate to follow such examples of former days as Suetonius describes, and Juvenal satirizes in his sixth *Satire*. Woe, it would seem to be, to the unfortunate husband who should refuse to his spouse the gratification of any wild whim, the indulgence of any coveted luxury! It is to be hoped that, for the honour of St. Francisco's future, many of that doctor's remarks are without foundation.

In all that regards mutual aid rendered to general interests, no land can surpass America. The volunteer fire companies are an example of this. St. Francisco has been three times thoroughly destroyed by fire, in 1850 and 1851. Even now two or three fires in one day are no extraordinary occurrence; but no sooner is the bell heard announcing a fire, than the citizens may be seen hastening from all parts, merchants or rowdies, in evening dress or in flannel shirts. One night I witnessed this system at work. Twenty minutes after the alarm, a dozen engines were in full play on the building and those adjacent to it, and at the end of half-an-hour the blazing mass was extinguished. Most of the houses being of wood, insurance can only be effected at a very high rate; and many is the honest man, still struggling on in this country, who lost his all, and his opportunities, in the

most palmy days of gold, by fire. Every little township throughout the State has one or more of these volunteer companies, between which all rivalry and jealousy turn to public advantage. The engines are well made, slight, and drawn by men. They are well kept; and the building where they stand forms a club or place of resort for the members of its company; debating is allowed on every subject, with the exception of religion, which is forbidden under a penalty of five dollars. Each company gives its balls and entertainments occasionally. I should like to see something of the sort established in every village in Great Britain. There could not be a more useful manner of bringing men of all classes together, and it could not but tend to keep up a kindly feeling among them. A building should be erected in every district, in the lower part of which a fire-engine should be kept with a few stands of rifles, the whole under the guard of a responsible person. In the country districts sets of harness should also be provided; horses could be procured readily enough. Thus, in case of fire, instead of having first to rouse up some sleeping parish clerk, or doting sexton, to get the keys, and then to run to the parish house for the engine, often a poor old leaky tub-like machine,—a bell would ring, the volunteers of the district would hasten to the rendezvous, and be ready in a few moments for action.

A newspaper writer had informed the people that the Russians felt the greatest interest in Americans and American institutions. What civilities could be too great to compensate for such an announcement? But,

unfortunately, there were no established authorities in St. Francisco to set an example (the seat of Government is at Sacramento); so the newspapers became the organs of the people in returning their own compliment.

But I must not forget the enterprising manager of a theatre, who invited the Commodore and his officers to a representation. No sooner was it accepted, than enormous posters headed "EXTRAORDINARY ATTRACTION" were set up all over the town, and copies of them were inserted in the papers, to inform the public that Admiral Popoff (in largest letters) accompanied by his officers, all in full uniform, would be present on such a night, and that, as a large attendance was expected, tickets should be secured as soon as possible. On the appointed evening, the box containing the guests was decorated with the flags of the two nations, and on the appearance of the commodore and his suite, the orchestra struck up the Russian national hymn, when some of the audience stood up and uncovered, and some did not do either; the Russians standing uncovered the while. "Yankee Doodle" followed. I do not know if the Russians were much flattered; but they were excessively amused at the whole affair.

Perhaps the following may give some idea of popular feeling here. When the news of the fall of Sebastopol arrived, the English and French inhabitants had a meeting to celebrate the event. A party, however, to prove that such proceedings did not accord with the national taste, broke in upon the meeting, and forced it to separate. The rowdies then marched in a body

to the Russian Consul, and in their own vagabond persons informed him of the national sympathy for his country's cause. A little speech was made from the window thanking them for their good will, and they dispersed.

CHAPTER XV.

American Steamboat—Make Acquaintances on board—Dinner—Sacramento—The City of the Plain—A civil General—Dock-yard in Mare Island—Appearance of Mining land in California—Placerville, or Hang Town—Mining Districts—Modes of Mining formerly and now—Mining Life—Trough Washing and Hydraulic Mining—Quartz—Appearance of Country around Mines—Search of a Miner for "Claims"—Hotels—Carston Valley Mines—Visit to different Claims—An Intelligent Miner—First Discovery of Gold—Return to Sacramento—American River—All not Gold that glitters—Indians—A Conversation with Enlightened Americans—Scenes on Steamboat—A Model Editor for California—Sail for Hawaian Islands.

THE steamboat for Sacramento was to start at 4 P.M. Opposition boats were running, which had reduced the fare from ten dollars to two for the cabin, and half-a-dollar for the deck. The rivalry was bitter; only a day or two before a touter for one boat had shot the touter for another boat dead in some dispute about a passenger. Accompanied by the doctor and secretary before mentioned, I stepped on board the boat of the company, which was better fitted up and larger than that of the opposition.

An American steam river boat has been often enough described, and no doubt caused many a shudder to the nervous reader, at the thought of safety valves fastened down, pitch and pork stuffed into the furnaces, and other dangerous expedients for overtaking a rival boat, and keeping up a due excitement among the

passengers. In the boat on board of which we found ourselves there were about three hundred passengers, of all classes of a motley community.

Americans in St. Francisco had kindly furnished me with introductions to the places we were about to visit. These were to a general, a colonel, two judges, and a captain; besides, I had one to the captain of the steamboat, whom I found to be a liberal-minded, gentlemanly man, who had long resided in the State. He after a time introduced me to a judge, who took me into his cabin and began a long speech, flowery and forensic, one-half made up of scraps of poetry, the other half in the style of charging a jury. Numerous words and phrases taken from the poets, and which one never hears in common conversation, were brought forth in giving me a description of the country; the forensic style was employed in speaking of the state of its society. This introduction led to several more, mostly carried on in the following manner.

Mr.—Judge,—Captain or Colonel So-and-So—

"Happy to make your acquaintance, Sir."

"Well, come and let's take a drink."

And down the whole party would go to take a drink. This is sometimes varied by "Come and take a smoke." These oft-repeated invitations become rather too much for one unaccustomed to the practice, but a refusal would give offence, and as it is the custom to help oneself to everything, the dose can be regulated *ad voluntatem*. A chat with one or another of these gentlemen made the evening pass over very pleasantly.

At six o'clock the dinner was announced by a most

discordant hammering on gongs, when a general rush took place below. Perfect order, a desire, at least, to show good-breeding at table, even if they did not know the last fashion of exercising it, prevailed. But haste was the order of the day; five minutes were the very maximum of time that any set remained at table. We saw some dozen parties make their appearance and vanish. This, with our drinking wine at dinner, while all the others took only water or milk, betrayed us as strangers, or at least as non-conformists to American habits.

Sacramento, the city of the plain, where we arrived about two o'clock in the morning, is situated 100 miles from St. Francisco, at the confluence of the American river with the Sacramento. It is the official residence of the Governor of Upper California and his suite, and is second only to St. Francisco in population. It contains 18,000 inhabitants. Fire and flood have been its chief enemies. The danger of the one has been lessened by building in brick instead of wood, which soon becomes like tinder beneath the scorching sun. A levée, or dyke, bounding both rivers for some distance, and an embankment connecting the two, preserve the town from the floods. The streets are wide, at right angles; those parallel to the Sacramento being numbered, while the intersecting streets have letters of the alphabet to distinguish them. There is a Capitol, the residence of the Governor, and a few hotels, large and well-erected buildings. The rest of the houses are low, and the environs for some distance are covered with cottages and little gardens, a distinctive feature among which are numerous small windmills

for pumping water for irrigation during the dry season.

Two miles from the town are the ruins of Sutter's Fort, so called from an old Swiss officer of the French guard of Charles X., who obtained a grant of land from the Mexican Government, built a mud, or *adobé*, fortified house, and made it the centre of his agricultural pursuits and his trade with the Indians. Before the Mexican war American squatters had settled in all directions around this fort, and they gave good aid to the invading force. On the discovery of gold (by a man in the employ of Captain Sutter) this fort became the chief trading post of the mining district around it, and from this beginning arose the city of Sacramento. The continued influx of strangers, *viâ* St. Francisco, all passed through the place for the diggings; the still greater immigration of miners from the Eastern States, coming over the mountains, made it their home during the season when mining was impossible. All the supplies of provisions passed through it from the one side, and all the gold sent for shipment from the other.

Situated between the 42nd and 35th parallels of latitude, having the ocean as one boundary and high mountains and waterless plains for the other, California is as favourably placed as any country in the world, not insular, for becoming the theatre of great events. Its seaboard contains magnificent harbours; the passes of the mountains to the East are few and easily defended. Every mineral lies concealed within its bosom; the land is on the whole fertile, and though somewhat subject to drought at times, to floods at

others, could be easily irrigated or drained according to circumstances. Magnificent timber in the north, fruitful vineyards in the south, add to the riches of the land. China and Japan are a few weeks' sail from its shores; the island world of the Pacific is preparing to become its *protegé*. And as years roll on, and the giant republic breaks down beneath its own weight, California, as a republic, kingdom, or empire, will be one of the great powers, perhaps the France of American destinies; and that, as queen of the Pacific, she intends to assert her sway over those broad waters, is evident in the enormous docks lately finished at a vast expense at Mare Island, on the Sacramento, and whence the first man-of-war had just been launched. The Russian Commodore and a large party of his officers visited these works, and were present at the trial trip of a fine frigate lately built there.

The general to whom I had a letter was, I found, the proprietor of one of the first hotels in the city, and I could hardly realize his position as he stood smiling at the door of the dining room (it was dinner time) to welcome his guests. He seemed a worthy old fellow, and, after a chat together, he gave us over to his black waiters, with injunctions to turn his establishment upside down to serve us; so we fared sumptuously. I do not know how the gallant general appeared when in uniform at the head of his army, but he certainly was the picture of a good burgher, as, in quaker hat, and sleek black broadcloth, with a pen behind his ear, he moved about, directing his establishment. Although living in another hotel we always dined with the general, with whom my com-

panions were much amused. Their ideas of a general were so totally different, that they could not help looking astounded as they saw one in such a novel light.

A short line of railway conducts to Folsom, a small place, twelve miles from Sacramento; but such a dense fog hung over the whole plain that it was impossible to see what sort of a place it was. On our arrival there at seven o'clock one morning, cars were in waiting to convey passengers to Placerville, which was the spot we intended to visit. These were long carts, containing four parallel seats, for twelve passengers, with one outside, beside the driver. This was such an independent citizen, that he did not trouble himself in the least for his freight. Four fine horses completed the equipment. We three occupied the most backward seat; next to us was a rather smart young lady, with a fellow passenger, who seemed to be an acquaintance; then a boy Frenchman, his wife, and baby; and lastly, two rowdy-looking fellows, with large bowie-knives and revolvers. A second car followed us at some distance.

On mounting the hills, we lost at the same time the fog and the mud, which had been some foot deep; the sky came out palely blue, and the masses of vapour were beneath us, covering the plain, and lit up with the rosy glow of the sun. Traces of mining were soon evident: valleys and watercourses were cut up in all directions, and water like pea-soup was rushing down every gulley; here and there an aqueduct, formed of wooden troughs, was carried across the road on piles to some mining-works on the hills. Presently, a party

of five men, shovelling the earth into a long wooden trough, were the first evidences of actual mining. We passed them; not a look from one—intent on their work, I do not think they even saw us. One was bending over a stream, and washing out a pan of earth; as we passed he was looking earnestly at the result in the bottom of the pan. All that earth, those heaps of clay and sand, those holes filled with muddy water, those broken pieces of timber, showed that all these parts had been thoroughly delved, though not exhausted of their precious metal; for such was at first the imperfect manner of working, that, when labour becomes cheaper, it will yield good profit to wash all over again.

The cars stopped at a small inn, twelve miles from Folsom, and the passengers had half an hour for breakfast. This was despatched with the usual celerity; and, with fresh horses, we proceeded. The country was very beautiful—a succession of rounded knolls, with oaks and cedars scattered over them. The land seemed all taken up, though little of it was cultivated. A shallow trench, or a single bar fence, alone marked it as reclaimed. But this was not the agricultural district: and most of the land, I heard, had been taken or bought up by speculators. Yet the law does all it can to stop the practice. When the land comes into the market, it is sold at an upset price. In all lands not yet surveyed any squatter has the right to take 160 acres, if single; double that quantity, if a married man. But all good land near the towns has long ago been taken; the rich alluvial valley of the Sacramento was all bought up before the discovery

of gold. Already everywhere may be seen the change from the exciting search for gold, to the slower, but far more humanizing occupation of agriculture.

Passing through a small village, inhabited mostly by Chinese, who cultivate large market-gardens, we came successively to two villages, called Mud Spring and Diamond Spring. Here were rich "placers" in former days; but nearly all the claims have long ago been worked out, or the "tailings" are being here and there worked in a more scientific manner, and were yielding, I was told, good returns.

About four o'clock we arrived at Placerville, or Hang-town, as it was formerly called, from a noted incident in the life of that apocryphal Californian judge —Lynch. Three men had committed a murder, with robbery, and, being caught, were hung up without mercy on trees which were then standing in the middle of the canvas town.

Placerville extends through a long and picturesque valley, watered by a stream, once, no doubt, limpid and sweet, but now running with liquid mud. It was in former days one of the parts most frequented by miners; and the high road through it, made from the "tailings," or leavings of the miners, would, I was told, furnish thousands of dollars, if it could be reworked. The town is very clean, and agreeably situated; the houses surrounded with pretty little gardens, where ripe strawberries were now growing in December. It is the centre of a district, where every kind of mining is carried on.

The mining parts of California extend in length nearly 500 miles; in breadth, from 40 to 50; chiefly

on the western slopes of the Sierra Nevada. But there is no doubt that the whole chain of mountains and connecting ranges, from the British settlements of the North as far as the Isthmus of Panama, is one vast field of mineral wealth. It is truly astonishing that these regions had been explored by the men of science of Wilkes' expedition, by Sir George Simpson, by Fremont, and others—that hunters and trappers, not to mention the Indians, had ranged over valley and mountain—and that this golden wealth was not discovered, until the accidental washing away of a mill-dam revealed the glittering treasure.

The mining of the present day is very different from that of ten years ago. Then it was carried on simply by washing the auriferous earth in a pan, or more often in a closely woven Indian basket. An instrument was also used called a cradle or rocker, which required men to work in company. Another method called "dry washing" was shaking the earth in a cloth, by which the stones came to the top, and so on till only heavy sand and gold remained. This was again shaken, and winnowed, so that the sand was blown away, and the gold dust from its gravity fell back in the cloth. A jack knife or a piece of iron was often the only instrument with which the miner went probing in the crevices of the slate-like rock, or delving about in the cañons or gullies of the hills, often to be rewarded by finding pieces of solid gold. Many were the rich "placers" which yielded their thousands of dollars to a few days' labour. Those were the days of murders, rapine, and riot, of poverty suddenly enriched, followed by extravagance, of disap-

pointment goading to crime. Gambling was the amusement of the night, to dissipate the earnings of the day. Broils followed, and wounds and death were dealt with bowie-knife and revolver. Coined money was almost unknown; payment was made in gold dust, from a pinch between the fingers to a handful. The gold was spent as recklessly as it was easily obtained, and when the first palmy days were gone, many a miner found himself penniless in pocket, and ruined in health. The shopkeeper who pandered to his vicious tastes, had made a fortune; the man who had toiled up to his waist in the cold water, his body exposed to the broiling sun, had nothing left him but his rheumatism and shattered health. The first rich "placers" were exhausted or abandoned for others more rich; miners swarmed over the country; good "prospects" became every day more rare—till at last the fever for a time subsided, and slower but more certain systems were adopted to arrive at the precious metal.

The principal methods now in use are the simple trough-washing, hydraulic washing, and quartz mining, all of them carried on in companies of three or four, thirty or forty, as the case may be. As water is indispensable in all sorts of mining, companies have been formed for keeping up a constant supply. The whole country is intersected by aqueducts of wood, which bring down the water from the higher parts of the stream, care being taken that the source is sufficiently high to allow the water being used in the higher cañons of the lower regions. The miners who make use of this water pay so much per cubic inch of

trough per diem. The trough washing is carried on both in cañons or gullies, and in the valleys. These troughs are divided into sections by narrow pieces of wood on the bottom; the dirt is then shovelled in and carried down by the rushing water, leaving a deposit of gold dust and other heavy matter in the different sections at the bottom of the trough. The water is generally let off once a week, when the residue is washed in pans, or amalgamated with quicksilver. Robbing these troughs during the week is no uncommon occurrence. The average earnings per man at this labour are from two to ten dollars a day.

By the hydraulic system, whole mountains are in process of removal, or having their entrails taken out, to be left as hollow as a drum. A tunnel is first made in the hill-side sufficiently low to allow the draining power of the water, and worked through the exterior formations until the primitive rock is reached, on which the richest earth usually is found. Troughs are laid on through the tunnel, as in the former system. A shaft is then sunk from the top of the hill, through which pass leather pipes enclosed in strong canvas. On the pressure being applied above, the hose is directed against the gold-bearing earth in the same manner as that of a fire-engine upon a burning body. Masses of earth thus tunnelled by the constant stream of water, fall away, and are carried through the troughs, in which the gold is deposited, as in the former case. It is, in fact, the same principle of mining on a much larger scale, by the mechanical power of water, instead of shovelling the earth into the troughs. The produce of metal is of course much

greater, but the preparatory expense of boring tunnel and shaft is enormous.

Quartz mining consists in working the vast auriferous leads of that mineral, crushing it in mills, and either washing or amalgamating with quicksilver, or both.

Finding that the editor of the *Placerville Democrat* to whom I had a letter, was busy in addressing copies of his journal to his subscribers, I forbore to take him away from his occupation to show us the mining operations of the neighbourhood. We therefore set out alone up the mountain to visit the Pacific quartz mills, situated about half a mile from the town. Pieces of broken quartz were scattered over the hill-side, among which several were picked up, with the gold plainly visible. These were "throwings" from the different shafts which had been sunk in the mountain. While occupied in examining various pieces of stone for traces of gold, we were accosted by two men, one a Polish Jew, the other a Prussian storekeeper. The former, who professed to have been the discoverer of the lead of quartz, offered to be our guide to the mines and mills. He then pointed out the direction of the "lead," rendered very evident by the cropping out of blocks of quartz on the hill-tops, and running in a northerly and southerly direction. Our guide informed us that such was invariably the case; that on a good "lead" being discovered, claims were immediately taken up in those directions, as the true course of the vein. The mills of these works were not now in operation, owing to the scarcity of water, but we visited the interior of the mine by two long

tunnels, in which parties were at work blasting the quartz, which was very rich, although no gold was visible to the naked eye. It contained a large quantity of different sulphates, among which that of iron predominated, giving in many places a green appearance to the stone.

All the valleys around were torn up, heaped, jagged, brown, and desolate. On the tops and sides of many of the hills vast mounds of brown earth were thrown up, contrasting with the green of the surrounding vegetation, and looking like vast mole-heaps. Far as the eye could reach the country had the same appearance; and if the view of a mining district afford an instructive lesson, it certainly calls forth mournful thoughts at such desecration of the beauties of nature for the purpose of obtaining that most debasing, yet necessary article—gold. As the gamblers I have seen at the baths of Germany have all their senses concentrated on one idea, so it was, and still is, with the Californian gold-seeker. Instead of gambling with gold for gold, he gambles with his labour and with time. Did he bestow the same hard work, intentness of purpose, thought, and perseverance, on any calling of life, as is given to the search after gold, success could not fail to crown his endeavours. Throughout the whole mining state, men are labouring thus to gain only one or two dollars a day, sometimes not that, while the ordinary wages of the country for labour are the same, and the fatigue much less. If you ask a miner why he prefers this, he will tell you it is because he feels more independent so, not that he is living in the hope of finding a rich "prospect."

The simultaneous ringing of about twenty bells informed us that it was dinner-time, and that we must descend if we did not wish to fast for the rest of the day. Most of the inhabitants of all the towns of California dine in hotels or restaurants, and rooms in many are not to be obtained without board. The price at this time was about three dollars per day for room, breakfast and dinner. A dollar was the price for every meal on the journey, whilst the payment for the slightest refreshment, or for the least service performed, was the smallest coin in circulation, a quarter of a dollar. Quarter-dollars are found only in San Francisco. Here, in these parts, as might be expected, the society was not very choice, consisting chiefly of miners, while the accommodation and arrangements for eating seemed to be prepared expressly for people who either did not know what better living was, or who were so occupied and intent on more important matters, as to be perfectly indifferent to such animal requirements. Small scraps on greasy plates were pitched down all at once before the guest on the dirty cloth by gentlemen waiters, who seemed to think those they served beneath their notice, who looked upon themselves as insulted if they were required to do their duty a little more as they ought. The sleeping-rooms were at least clean, and the service upstairs being performed by negroes, it was not beneath their dignity at least to do their best to please you. The inn, the largest in Placerville, was crammed with miners hastening to, or returning from the newly discovered mines of silver in the Carston Valley, about fifty miles farther on, beyond the Nevada mountains.

Valuable silver leads had lately been discovered there, and with the quickness and precision with which such matters are arranged in California, a length of more than fifty miles in claims was immediately taken up. A plot was then marked out in squares for the future city, and though but a few weeks had elapsed since the finding of the ore, more than a hundred "shanties," or huts, and a few *adōbe*, or mud houses, formed its skeleton streets, with here and there board-built hotels without furniture, and with straw strewed on the ground for beds, upon which hundreds of people slept, wrapped up in their blankets; and this accommodation could only be obtained at a large price. For a little shelter, and some barley for a horse, the sum of five dollars was charged. Eating-houses, gambling hells, disorder, scarcity—the days of 1849 were being acted over again on a small scale.

Such was the account of a miner who sat next to me at dinner, who was returning from the place, having taken up a claim. A hundred gaping faces of men on their way thither were turned to the man as he spoke, expressing all the phases from greedy hope to blank disappointment, as at one moment he spoke of the wonderful richness of the ore, at another of the difficulties to be encountered, and the impossibility of doing any good whilst the ground was still covered deep with snow. But this did not seem to deter them from their plan,—on they went to the goal of their hopes, and the next day their place was taken by others, all bound to the same destination. From some specimens of the ore which were given me, there is no doubt of its richness; from 3,000 to 6,000 dollars a ton, I was

told, had already been got from it. The finest claims belong to a Mr. Davidson, of San Francisco, who has sent a large quantity to England for crushing and smelting. In the Spring it was expected there would be some 50,000 people present in that district.

After dinner we proceeded to see the other kinds of mining. In the street itself, by the side of the stream, and in a hole as deep and about as large as an ordinary grave, three men were busy sluice-washing. They had already reached the bed of primitive rock, and were cleaning out with the greatest care all the mud and dirt which remained in the crevices and indentations of the bottom. In answer to my question, one of them told me he was the owner of the claim, and that he paid daily wages to the other two. The claim, he said, was rich; but as its position prevented him from extending it in any direction, it would soon be exhausted. Seeing I was a stranger and a traveller, and knowing perhaps from experience that such persons delight in dabbling a little in all they see, he offered me a panful of dirt to wash out, and the result, after a few minutes, was a number of spangles or little flakes of pure gold, worth, he told me, about half a dollar. This was pretty well for one pan, but it must be remembered that the earth was taken out of a crack on the surface of the primitive rock, where the richest deposits are found.

Toiling up another mountain covered with a shrub resembling the Euphorbia, and with bushes covered with red berries, formerly the food of the Indians, we came upon several hydraulic workings. One, called the Dew Hill Mine, was worked by a company of five,

all Americans. A large hole descended 120 feet into the heart of the mountain, and from the bottom, a tunnel of 400 feet in length, and in which were the sluices, led to the side of the mountain. This tunnel, and other works, had taken two years to bring to the present state of forwardness, and the gold already obtained had not even paid for the water rented from the Company. The owner, meanwhile, lived on credit, and the Prussian storekeeper, who acted as our guide, was the chief creditor.

Such was, I heard, the universal custom, to give credit, long and large, to the owners of likely claims; a hazardous, but I have no doubt, a profitable investment of money. "But," said the owner to me, pointing to a mass of earth at the bottom of the shaft, resembling decomposed clay slate, mixed with a black stony cement,—"there is some stuff which I trust will make a return for all our labour, pay our debts, and make us rich men besides. We are only waiting till the landslips cease from above to turn on it the jet of the hydraulic machine." Later in the evening, when I met the same man dressed neatly in black, he had to remind me himself of our having met, such a change had taken place in the dirty, unshaven, half-naked, mud-besmeared person I had been talking to in the afternoon. He had found, after I had left him, a small nugget adhering to a piece of black cement, which he gave me to recal my visit to his claim. This find had cheered him, and increased his hopes of the richness of his mine. He was altogether an intelligent fellow, a good, practical miner, and what pleased me most in him was, his hankering after a home and

family he had left in the east, and to see whom again, and to benefit them, seemed his only motive for desiring wealth. It was good also to remark that on Saturday afternoon the miners had all flocked in from the neighbourhood to spend their Sunday, even if they had no better home than the reeking rooms of grog-shops, and the sulphur-breathing bars of so-called hotels. Rarely is mining continued on Sundays, unless at the stern promptings of hunger.

About four miles from Placerville is Sonoma, near the Northern fork of the American river. It was here that in the winter of 1847–48, a man employed by Mr. Sutter in constructing a mill-dam discovered the golden treasure. Although they agreed to keep the affair secret, it soon became known to the Mormons, of whom the finder was one, and all the then scanty population of California flocked to the spot. Sonoma is now becoming the centre of a wine-growing district. The grape juice is manufactured into all kinds of wines, from port to champagne, and a great deal of the latter finds its way to China and other places, and is sold as French champagne. The district of Los Angeles, farther south, is where the greater part of the Californian wines is grown, and although the present season is reported to be the worst known, still the produce, as stated by official report, amounted to 187,710 dollars, at 60 cents the gallon, exclusive of the brandy made from the lees. Indeed, California seems to possess a climate similar to Spain and France taken together, and able to produce all the necessaries and luxuries of those lands.

On our return journey to Sacramento, the cars were

filled with men, every second among whom was formidable with a revolver. What was the use of carrying such a weapon I could not imagine, unless some lawless deed was premeditated, or a childish vanity had to be gratified. Among a not over conscientious population, to go armed may be necessary for the protection of life and property, but in these parts it seemed to be only a habit, the evil effects of which presented themselves nearly every day. One of the grand juries in the neighbourhood remarked that more than half the crimes of homicide and wounding were attributable to it, which is easily understood amid gambling, high political discussion, and those assaults on self-love called *insult*. Of some forty or fifty of such cases I saw in the newspapers, both parties, or at least the offenders, were either British or American, to judge from the names. Such a detestable practice must cause California to be shunned like the pest, by all peaceful, well-disposed emigrants. It was a boast I heard that men who had gone through one Californian campaign, were *respected*, *i. e.*, feared and shunned wherever they went.

Among the passengers was a man in the prime of life, who formed a contrast to the rest. He was unarmed, and had just travelled over half the American continent. Formerly a trapper pioneer, he had seen all the vicissitudes of the country during the last fifteen years. He was now returning from the Salt Lake. He described the Mormons as hospitable, quiet and industrious, not the intriguing, bloodthirsty sect such as I had heard many Americans describe them. Putting their Turkish propensities aside, I do not suppose they

are half so black as their enemies paint them. Asking him what sort of women were there, he told me he did not see many pretty ones. "The elder with whom I stayed," said he, "had three wives, who must have had some great unseen attractions, but I couldn't find them out. Verily," he added, "I think the Gentiles ought to leave them alone, for, most probably, the greater part of them find that the sin brings its own punishment."

We had left Placerville at four o'clock in the morning, and found, on arriving at Folsom, that we had three hours to spare before the train left for Sacramento. The interval was agreeably spent in a stroll on the picturesque banks, or in the rock-strewn bed of the American river. Enormous blocks of granite and quartz were scattered in all directions. A solitary miner was washing a pan of earth which he had just dug on the side of the stream; I did not see what he found, but amused myself with probing about in the crevices of the rocks, till I came upon what I thought a rich discovery; for in one deep little hole from which I stirred up the soil with a stick, the earth seemed glittering with gold; but alas! when I had washed it in a pan, I found nothing. The shining particles had been first of all washed away from the pan. It was only mica. I had thus a practical exemplification of the proverb that "all is not gold that glitters."

Pursuing my walk, I came upon two or three groups of Indians. Poor, miserable, squalid, half-starved wretches they seemed. Half naked, half clothed in the filthy rags which even the lowest stage of civilization had discarded, they were wandering, a picture of

despair, on the sadly changed banks of their native stream. Another group of women and children were squatting round an imaginary fire; so utterly desolate they seemed, you could almost read their instinctive thought,—to linger on without hope and die like dogs. And the look they give the passing stranger, how meaningless,—how unlike the curious, laughing gaze of the free or happy savage! or, if it have any expression, it is a look such as the dog gives to man when he sees the arm upraised to smite him,—a mixture of dread, despair, and reproach.

The change that has taken place in the country during the last few years has been most destructive to the native tribes. Under the Catholic missionaries they were at least in a fair way towards improvement. During the gold excitement, those who were at all subdued became the slaves of the miners, working for them, and receiving in return some clothing, but more rum. Those more remote resisted the encroachments of the white man, and the most diabolical cruelties were committed both on them and by them. The poor wretches at home in their valleys, living on the few roots, berries, and disgusting insects they found there, naturally resisted the inroad of the gold-seeking pioneers, and were hunted and shot down like dogs. At the present time expeditions of volunteers, under the sanction of the Government, are out hunting down different tribes, and are driving them like sheep to some "reservations" hundreds of miles away from their homes. While I was at Sacramento about 500 of these poor outcasts were encamped on the opposite bank of the river. Among them were about 200

warriors of the Pitt river tribe, the finest-looking of all the Californian Indians. They had been marched down through deep snow from the Sierra Nevada mountains, and were on their way to St. Francisco, thence to be shipped to some out of the way district farther up the coast. Among them were a celebrated chief, Shave-head, and his band. Their encampment was visited by numbers of the curious, among whom were many ladies, who exercised their philanthropy, and satisfied their curiosity, in distributing petticoats and small clothes to the naked savages. I should like to know if the American board of missions, who send their emissaries to proselytize the Chinese and Japanese, and can spend their hundreds of thousands in trying to Christianize the interesting inhabitants of the South Sea Islands, if the gentlemen who form that board know anything of the state of the Californian Indians; or among the hundreds of men of different classes who receive a call to spread the Gospel among the heathen, are there not a few who can so far enter into the spirit of that call as to forego the delights of climate and of interesting nature, animate or inanimate, and devote their time and energy to the amelioration of the poor "digger?" Beetles and berries, insects and acrid roots, may not be great inducements to pass years among such tribes, but, as the prospect is less cheering, so the devotion would be the greater. And I am sure that such a field of useful exertion has only to be known to be immediately occupied.

On our return to Sacramento we went to the same hotel, but did not fail also to pay our respects to the "General." One evening I found myself in a mixed

company, consisting of two judges, a doctor from the Indian country, a militia colonel who had served in the Mexican war, and an intelligent miner. The conversation was carried on, as it usually is, over the bar of the hotel, with an oft-repeated compliment of "a drink." The party was composed of men from the Southern and Northern parts of the Union; all seemed well educated, and the topic was of course politics. The Charlestown tragedy came on the *tapis;* among them, Northerners or Southerners, there was no difference of opinion; rebellion merited death; but on my suggesting that a recurrence of such scenes might endanger the integrity of the Union, I got laughed at. "Both parties are like actors on the stage," said one; "they abuse, hate, and revile one another before the public, but all for want of something better to do. Each state knows that no other can interfere with the internal arrangements of the other, and it is only when private interest is touched that the interference becomes dangerous, as now in the slave question." We then passed in review newspaper politics, and the ravings of the press against England. These, I was given to understand, were rightly appreciated in America by all men of sense; that cries against England were a good canvass for votes at an election, or for subscriptions for a newspaper among the lower classes, and that those who uttered them were often men who had the strongest opinions the other way. But as to the probability of such rants leading to a rupture with England, the whole party were of opinion that the few really honest and independent men who took a part in politics, and the many who did not, but

whose influence was indirectly felt, would never permit affairs to come to such an extremity. As to politics in the pulpit (which in America seems to take the place of religion in many churches), that took effect only on the strong-minded women of the land, but most men might sit under half a dozen political preachers without being the least affected. Listening to those gentlemen, I became half convinced that everybody in the States spoke and acted just the reverse of what he thought, in order to gain some private end.

There is one subject of discourse which is the chief delight of an American in California, and a fruitful theme of many a scribbler: this is the glorious attainments of the Anglo-Saxon race. With some, however, it is only the Anglo-American race,—a race, in the opinion of the speaker or writer, far surpassing in all sterling qualities anything the world has ever yet seen. While one of the party was in the midst of this tremendous topic, there entered the bar a captain of the army, dressed out for a ball. He was a handsome, jovial fellow, and quite agreed there were no such people on earth as Americans and English. All his ideas, however, were tinctured with a most inveterate dislike to Frenchmen, Louis Napoleon in particular, a sentiment, he assured me, common throughout all the American army. "If we could only fight side by side in the war" (everybody seemed to think here that such an event was inevitable), "if you would only ask the assistance of the United States," and he put his hand on the hilt of his sword in a most energetic manner, "but they won't do it, sir;

you'd get thrashed first." Then drawing himself up and standing erect before me, he asked me what the difference was between an Englishman and an American. I burst out laughing at him, whereupon he grasped my hand and offered me a ticket for the ball to which he was going, adding that he would present me to the Governor, and, as a still stronger inducement, to the prettiest partners in the room. This handsome offer I was forced to decline, as a costume for the mines was not passable for a ballroom, and for close contact with the "fixins" of a pretty girl. (This word I had learned a day or two before, as referring to the little bows and other decorations of a lady's dress.) Assuring me that this did not the least matter in California, he hastened away to escort a lady, whom he must have kept waiting during the last hour and a half.

Speaking of American slang terms, one of the party told me that an English lord, who had lately been travelling through the States, had been collecting and compiling a vocabulary of those choice words; it is to be hoped that it is only for private use, for if it be published, and circulated among the long-tailed, peg-topped, small-umbrella men, a most horrid nuisance will thereby be inflicted on English society.

Flavus Sacramento! of all the rivers distinguished by that muddy epithet, thou certainly deservest it best. This river flows actually with liquid mud—a fact not to be wondered at, if the reader will remember that thousands of little streams are continually pouring into it and its tributaries their offerings of dirt, washed down from the different diggings. The effect of this

must ultimately be to block up the navigation of the river; and banks of mud have already formed in different parts of the bay.

The whole valley of the Sacramento is generally flooded during four months of the year. Immense quantities of wild fowl haunt its banks; and fevers and agues, to which the settler is liable, are a grievous drawback, to set against the surprising fertility of the soil: but a system of drainage will soon remedy this evil.

The steamboat left Sacramento at two o'clock P.M., and arrived in St. Francisco about nine, performing the journey of more than a hundred miles in seven hours. There was the same mixed lot of passengers; card-playing was the pastime of the cabin; those who had no such amusement wandered restlessly up and down. A party of three gentlemen, in clerical dress, after conversing on the loveliness of charity, began heartily to abuse some gentleman, apparently of the same cloth, who was walking up and down the cabin. On asking a stranger who he was, I was told he was an Irishman, a Catholic priest, who had been the butt of their slander. O charity! charity! thou lookest through a glass often very darkly!

On going out on one of the balconies, to smoke a cigar, I was accosted by a man, with little colourless ferret eyes, sparse, unshaven beard, and careless dress, who thus addressed me:—

"I guess you're a Britisher."

"You have guessed right."

"I saw you up in the mines, didn't I?"

"Very likely—I was there."

"You wanted some specimens, didn't you?"

"Yes."

"Did you find any?"

"Yes."

I then followed the custom of the country, and began to ask him questions.

"And where have you been?"

"To Carston Valley."

"What have you been doing there?"

"Establishing a newspaper."

"But there is nobody to read it!"

"Oh! that don't matter, there will be plenty of people next year."

"Then you'll have an opposition paper before long."

I shall never forget the glare of fury the man gave me as he clutched my shoulder, and said:—

"Do you see this revolver?—if any other man tries to take the bread out of my mouth, after all my trouble, I'll horsewhip him in the streets, and then shoot him like a dog."

"I only hope you'll be hanged, if you do."

After a few more words the man began to excuse himself, as having expressed his feelings in a heated manner. But the daily prints of California show only too clearly that such threats as were uttered by this fellow are often put into execution.

A few days after my return to St. Francisco we sailed for Honolulu, where we arrived after sixteen days' passage.

CHAPTER XVI.

Approach to Honolulu—Description of Town—Schools—Honolulu at Night—The Hula-hula—The Whaling Seasons—Constitution—Kanakas—Population—Costume—Vices of Natives—Murders by Foreigners—A Meli, or Native Chant—Newspapers—A Tragedy in High Life—Official Visit to the King—His Palace and Guards—Ministers—Insignia of Hawaian Royalty—Hon. Mr. Wyllie—Saturday in Honolulu—Sunday—A Remark.

A WELL-KNOWN landmark to the native mariner in his little schooner or canoe, and to the white stranger in his stately clipper, is the old crater of Leahi, or Diamond Head, on the south-east extremity of the island of Oahu (Owhyhee). On nearing this, a white line of breakers becomes visible, with here and there a small space of smooth water between the sunken rocks. Towards one of these openings we steer; the deep blue of the tropical ocean is suddenly changed to a dingy green, from the instantaneous decrease of depth; a small boat, rowed by natives, darts alongside, from which an American pilot steps on board. A short run through the channel, marked on either side by stakes fixed in the coral reefs, and the ship is in the small, reef-locked harbour of Honolulu, moored only a few feet from the shore, where a crowd of many colours is watching the manœuvres.

Not many years ago Honolulu consisted, as most of the little villages do now, of a few scattered grass huts. The residences of the chiefs of Oahu was at Waikiki, a

village a few miles to the eastward, where Vancouver anchored during his visit to this island. In the present day the town of Honolulu is a picturesque and neat little place, thickly built near the water, but spreading over the adjoining plain and valley, with gay and shady cottages. Most of the churches, the king's palace, and the better class of houses, are built of coral, quarried out of the reef; others are of wood; while everywhere in the neighbourhood are seen the haystack-looking abodes of the native kanakas. A square low building, a few hundred feet from the town, is called the fort, and serves the purpose of a common jail. This old fort was formerly mounted with seventy still older cannon; but during the disagreements of the Government with the French in 1849 they were all spiked, and tumbled about, since which time only a few have been replaced. On a hill at the back of the town, known as the "Puahi," or Punch-bowl, is a battery, which is used for the purposes of salutes, and which had just replied to our twenty-one guns in honour of Hawaian royalty.

Among the other edifices are the Government-, Court-, and Custom-houses, all of coral blocks. There are six churches for whites and natives, Protestant or Catholic, most of them built by the natives, under the superintendence of the missionaries. One native church especially is worthy of notice, as having been erected entirely by natives, at their own expense, the cost being upwards of 30,000 dollars. It will accommodate nearly 3,000 people. Another building, called the Seaman's Bethel, has attached to it reading-rooms for sailors, where they may also obtain, gratis, Bibles and

Testaments in different languages. Many of the Russian sailors applied for books in this way—not that they could be of any possible service to them, but for the pleasure of having them for nothing. There are also several schools in the neighbourhood of the town, among which the Royal School, so called from its distinguished patronage, is for the children of foreigners; and those of Royal blood, and of the chiefs, male and female, are educated under the same roof. There are other schools, besides, for natives and strangers. But the chief educational establishment of the kingdom of Hawaii is in the island of Manai, called the College of Lahainaluna, founded by the American Board of Missions, and formerly under the superintendence of the Rev. Mr. Dibble, whose history of the Sandwich Islands is well known. To see the programme of this establishment, one would suppose it was Cambridge or Berlin, so many sciences are taught to the inmates, who have to labour with their hands half the day for their support, while devoting the other half to study. The cost to the pupil is about twenty dollars a year.

I had heard much of the quiet and order of the streets of Honolulu by night, and of the strictness of the police in putting a stop to the least amusement attended with noise. I was, therefore, not a little surprised to find one or two streets as gay as during a fair. The sound of music proceeded from several illumined houses, mingled with that of romping and pattering of feet, and the laughter of men and women. The assemblies were all composed of natives. In the street, in front of the illuminated houses, was a line of

girls and women, sitting on the ground with wreaths of flowers spread before them, and every young Kanaka furnished his partner with a coronet before entering. Perfect order prevailed; intoxicating drinks, such as spirits, are prohibited by their price; a kind of beer, however, is sold, which answers the same purpose. The old native dances, the "hulas," have of late been permitted by the Government to be danced in houses licensed for the purpose, much to the horror of many of the foreign residents. These licentious dances, the national ones of nearly all South Sea Islands, thus produced, are shorn of much of their immodesty; in fact, as you see them danced in Honolulu, they are not more indecent than some of the Spanish dances seen at the opera now and then.

During our stay, one of these "hulas" was got up for the amusement of the officers, at the instigation of Kekuanaoa, the king's father, and Governor of Oahu. Unfortunately I was not present, being absent on an excursion round the island. The women on this occasion were clothed in satin and silk petticoats, of which they wore two or three; a tunic of velvet or some other material encircled their waist. There was not the least indelicacy in their costume, but the voluptuous postures into which they sometimes threw themselves, would be thought by many a breach of decency.

The prosperity of Honolulu depends entirely on that of the whaling season. The harbour, and that of Lahaina, on the island of Mani, are the chief rendezvous of vessels of that class, which come to provision and refit, being for the most part under the American

flag, and from the port of New Bedford. About the middle of September they come down from the sea of Okotsk, or from the sperm whaling grounds of the Tropics, and from that time until the middle of December, the two harbours above mentioned present an animated sight. At the time of our visit there were only two stragglers in port, the rest had gone to the sperm whaling grounds of the Pacific or home. In a couple of months would be a kind of second season; the ships would again come in to take provisions for the summer campaign in the Arctic Seas. The port of Hakodadi, in Japan, was expected to be a most convenient touching place for whalers, but from what I saw and heard there, Honolulu surpasses it beyond measure. In this latter place provisions are cheaper, more abundant, and better; native seamen are easily procured, while none can be had in Hakodadi, and recruits are only to be obtained from among the runaway seamen from other ships, and at exorbitant prices. The success of whaling expeditions has been gradually falling off; the season of 1858 was the worst known for years; many vessels entering this port during the present year from cruises of three to five years, had lost from eighty to one hundred thousand dollars by the cruise.

The position of the Sandwich Islands, half way on the track between St. Francisco and China, and directly in the way of ships bound round the Horn, is bringing them year by year more into importance. From being only a kind of tavern or refreshment place for sea-tossed travellers to recruit their strength, the official reports show that Hawaii is fast becoming an

exporting state, and although the imports must for a long time exceed the exports, the specie brought into the country either in wages paid to native sailors, or money spent by different kinds of visitors, goes far towards making up the deficiency. The production of sugar, coffee, pula and hides, have increased in a high ratio during the last few years, and large plantations are yearly coming under cultivation. The little Hawaian kingdom seems on the high road to become a field of success for all, except the poor unfortunate aborigines.

The court calendar of Hawaii informs us that the Government is a limited monarchy, with king, privy council, cabinet, and house of nobles and of representatives. There are three plenipotentiaries extraordinary, of England, France, and the United States, and sundry officers with consular powers. Then there is a supreme court, a board of health, and societies—agricultural, medical, ladies' benevolent, mechanic and missionary, all under distinguished patronage; two hospitals, a board of education, and lastly, two clubs. The king, is his Majesty Alexander Liholiho Kamehameha the Fourth. He was born in 1834, ascended the throne in 1854, and married in 1856.

The high officers of state are the descendants of the old chiefs, governors of islands in the group, and a few foreigners, all styled their Excellencies, or their Honours, according to circumstance. The chief men, however, who form the working part of the Government, are Mr. Wyllie, Mr. Gregg, and Lot Kamehameha, respectively holding the offices of Minister of Foreign Affairs, Finance, and the Interior.

I need hardly say that the Anglo-Saxons hold all the responsible posts, and are, in effect, the ruling powers. Their acts during the last eight years have been generally creditable to their good sense. They have done much to improve the native race, and have avoided a recurrence of the many disasters which the bigotry of their predecessors brought on the country. It is estimated that there are about 2,500 foreigners dispersed throughout the group of islands, the greater number of whom are Americans, as might be expected. In Honolulu, American customs prevail. There are volunteer fire companies, and a volunteer rifle corps of about thirty men, of which the king is the colonel. The 4th of July is a great fête, and although the anniversary of Queen Victoria's birth and the Fête Napoleon are both set down to be honoured, the first is the most energetically sustained. The national fête of the Hawaians is on the 31st July, the date of the restoration of the kingdom by Admiral Thomas in 1844, after it had been ceded by the king under pressure to Lord George Paulet. Poor Lord George's name seems to have become a byword among the Kanakas, while the memory of his admiral is still revered.

The house of representatives is composed of both natives and foreigners; every male above the age of twenty-one can vote if he has paid all his taxes; and I see by the reports before me, that several white men have been worsted at the poll by the Kanakas, who elected their own countrymen. There are also many natives scattered over the group as judges, preachers, schoolmasters, most of them educated at the college before named.

Besides the pure Hawaians, there is a large number of half-castes. Some of the women I saw were pretty creatures, dressed in European style, with flounces, crinoline, and small waists. Many were the wives of native nobles; a few married to Europeans. It will be for this mixed race to perpetuate Hawaian blood; for another century will probably find few pure Kanakas living. It is sometimes difficult to distinguish the true native from the half-breed, for many of the former are quite as fair; and I asked the question several times of a native, if his father was not a white man, and was told the contrary. Probably they did not know themselves. On account of the promiscuous intercourse prevailing in former days, succession to rank came through the female line, or by adoption. The present king was adopted by the late Kamehamea III. I was told by many, and observed myself, that there were apparently three races of Kanakas; one much resembling a Mexican, or half Spanish blood; another of the same type, but much darker in complexion; and a third with much broader features, somewhat bordering on the negro cast. All the men, especially the young ones, are great imitators of the whites, both in dress and manners. One or two half-breeds I met were the most insufferable puppies one could imagine.

The costume of the women is very pleasing, and I was agreeably surprised to find them so sensibly dressed. Their only garments are a loose long gown, and a similar one of calico worn beneath it. The outer one is cut something like the graceful dress worn in the reign of Louis XV. This loose flowing robe,

with the erect, yet indolent step of its wearer, is very attractive, especially when the long black hair of the woman has been carefully arranged, and encircled with a fillet of flowers and green leaves. The hair is, however, too often neglected, and resembles a brush; otherwise it is not of a harsh quality, and when well dressed has the pretty appearance of that of the Japanese women.

While on the subject of the natives, I will note down their chief vices, such as they present themselves in a file of newspapers for the last year. First in order is the old national vice, breaking the seventh commandment, and what applies to it. Robbery is very rare; you may travel throughout the islands with your pockets full in perfect safety; the knowledge of your possessing money will only insure you a more hospitable reception, and cause your slightest wish to be attended to, in the hope of getting a trifle. Ill-treatment of women by Kanakas seems to be a very prevailing crime, an old practice not improved by the example of some of the reprobate foreigners who have taken to themselves native wives. A new crime had lately become very frequent, and is certainly one of the effects of civilization. This is suicide. Three instances involving the loss of five lives occurred in one district in the island of Oahu. Love was the cause of all. In two of these cases the pair died together, murder being followed by suicide; in the third the man hanged himself because his mistress would not listen to him. One or two brutal murders had been lately committed by Kanakas; but truth compels me to state, that for every murder committed

by them, two have been committed on them by foreigners. Two such cases occurred shortly before our arrival, in one of which a brutal officer of a ship struck a Kanaka dead; and there was a third in which two Chinamen were the murderers. In all these cases the delinquents were either acquitted or allowed to escape. This caused an outcry from the poor natives, that their lives could not be protected by those who had come to rule over them. A day or two afterwards the following *milé* or native song was posted up all over the town, and I give the translation as showing the feelings of the people on the occasion, as also their manner of composition.

The old men and the old women travelled upon the high ways and slept.
This was through the benevolence of Kamehameha the First.
The rights of the chiefs are disregarded.
The natives of the land are trampled on.
The people of Hawaii are slain without cause.
The rights of the people are gone! the laws are powerless.
Rise! O Hawaii of Keawe! and take hold of the law; the offender is allowed to escape.
Stand up! O Mani of Kama, and punish this great wrong; the eye of justice is clothed with sleep.
Look! O Molokai of Hina! let us meet together in council; at Honolulu the murderer is protected.
Purify yourself in the sea, O Ohau of Kuhihewa; the blood of one of Papa has been taken.
Let thy waters gush forth, O Kanai of Mano; and cleanse this foulness.
He, also, is to blame, who allowed the witnesses, who would have told the truth, to go to a foreign land.
To him the blood that has been spilled upon the ground, is calling;
Upon his head be that blood.
Rise! ye good children of Kamalalawalu.

Many of the white inhabitants, it is true, were as

much disgusted at the results of these trials as the natives. They ascribed them to the limited number of the community, in which impartiality and an unbiassed judgment are almost impossible, and to the fear of the native Government of again finding itself involved with other Governments.

There are two newspapers printed in Honolulu, in the English language, *The Polyncsian*, the Government organ, and an opposition paper. These two are of course always abusing one another. Several publications in the Kanaka tongue are printed in Honolulu and circulated among the islands. These, at least, seem to be still under missionary influence, and in all that refers to the natives, are filled with matter tending to improve their condition, both in morality and in a worldly sense also.

I returned from my little tour round the island of Oahu, just in time to accompany the Commodore on his visit to the king. His Majesty Kamehameha had just returned from Lahaina, where he had been to visit his secretary, whom he had shot some time before in a deadly fit of jealousy. The immediate consequence of the act was, that rumours were afloat of the king being about to resign the crown and retire into private life. That he had thought better of it, may be inferred from the fact that we were just on the point of paying him a visit, more than four months after the occurrence. A party of about thirty officers in full uniform marched off to the office of the secretary for foreign affairs, the Honourable Robert Wyllie, who was waiting to receive us in court uniform, three cornered hat and white feathers. Heralded by

Mr. Wyllie, we proceeded to the palace, and were received with presented arms and a roll of the drum by the native guard in their blue uniforms with their officers in front. Somebody, I suppose the Lord Chamberlain, met us at the door, and ushered us into a saloon, while Mr. Wyllie disappeared, no doubt, to repeat once more his instructions for the reception.

Everything was simple, and in good taste, and the palace resembled the comfortable dwelling of a private gentleman: carpets were spread over the floors, capacious sofas and arm-chairs were placed in different parts of the rooms, and these, with a few books, composed all the furniture. Large portraits covered the walls, among which I noticed those of Louis Philippe, the King of Prussia, and Blucher; two others were pointed out as those of Admiral Thomas, who restored the islands, and of Kamehameha the Great, who was portrayed as a large, fat man, of bloated features, the colour of chocolate.

Mr. Wyllie having introduced the Commodore to the King, the latter severally introduced his officers, and all the strictness of a parade presentation could not have been more exactly adhered to at St. Petersburg than was here done in the little Hawaian Court. The King, who looks about his age (twenty-six), is a handsome man, with a somewhat sad cast of countenance, which the late unfortunate circumstance may perhaps account for. He is of middle stature, of good figure, and was dressed in the uniform of the volunteer rifle corps, of which he is the colonel. A sofa, raised a little above the ground against the wall in the middle of the room, represented the throne. In front

of this he stood, having on one side his brother, Prince Lot, and on the other Kekuanaoa, the Governor of the island and father of the King. The rest of the half circle flanking his Majesty was composed of chiefs in Court dress (blue, with gold epaulettes), several rifle volunteers in uniform, Ministers, and other functionaries. His Majesty, who speaks English very purely, after listening to a little speech made by the Commodore, on the proximity of the Czar's dominions to his kingdom, and the probability that his ports would often be visited by the Russian flag, replied in the usual manner in a few chosen words, evidently his own, that it would give him great pleasure, &c., and that he trusted soon to have a representative of the Czar at his Court. When this was over, all retired from their positions, and mixed together through the rooms. I then had an opportunity of having a little talk with the King, during which he asked me the particulars of my trip round the island. His whole appearance and manner make a very pleasing impression; and I heartily wish him and his family success; and, though the hope is a despairing one, that they may not only reign long, but have a native population to rule over.

The Governor afterwards showed us the celebrated feather cloak and tippets, the insignia of Hawaian royalty. This cloak belonged to Kamehameha the Great, and he is represented wearing it in his portrait. The feathers composing it are of a bright yellow or golden colour, and were plucked from under the wing of a rare bird found in the mountains of Hawaii, and called by naturalists the *Melithreptes Pacifica*. These

feathers were prized by the natives at an exorbitant sum: the cloak itself is computed to have cost some hundreds of thousands of dollars in its manufacture.

I afterwards had the pleasure of a chat with the Hon. Mr. Wyllie. He said the King much regretted we were leaving so soon, as he wished to come on board, and also to see us at dinner with him, that he might make us acquainted with the Queen and other ladies of the family. Mr. Wyllie is a Scotchman, a man of liberal ideas, and has done much, by wise provisions and good counsel, to improve the natives, and steer the little royal bark clear of those shoals upon which the short-sightedness and bigotry of his predecessors had nearly wrecked it.* He was formerly, I understood, a secretary in our Royal Navy, and came to the islands as secretary to General Miller, the British Consul, in 1844, at the making of the treaty.

Saturday afternoon seemed to be a general holiday at Honolulu. After the visit to the King was over, I rode out of the town to witness the favourite sport of the Kanakas—horse-racing. In their estimation a good horse and a pretty partner are the two highest prizes in life, but the horse is the better thing of the two. They show their affection for both by quite killing the one with hard riding, and nearly killing the other by blows. They are the most reckless riders I ever saw, and good need there is for stringent laws against fast riding in inhabited districts. The women, who sit astride like men, with their legs enveloped in flowing material, generally of some bright colour, are excellent riders, and in the races I saw were disputing the prizes (if

* French attack in 1849.

there were any, but I think it was only for amusement's sake) with the lords of their island creation. It is known that there are more horses than human beings in these islands, the descendants of stock formerly introduced from Mexico and South America. In many parts of the kingdom they may be bought almost for nothing, for such is the wear and tear of these animals that they are soon rendered fit for nothing; I heard of one lot being sold at two dollars a head. A good horse will always fetch a good price; and rather than be without one, though only for the pleasure of spoiling it as soon as possible, a Kanaka will sell wife, child, or all that he has, to get the money to purchase it.

The Sunday morning of the last day of our sojourn in Honolulu broke in uncommon splendour; and as the tinkling of the bells of the churches came ringing over the water, I could hardly realize the possibility that the regions where I then was were unknown to the civilized world less than one hundred years ago, and that now, with an advanced civilization, the same animosities of religion had here as well as there distracted society, and rendered men unnatural one to another.

As we were weighing anchor, the King's father, Kekuanaoa, came on board, uninvited, to pay a farewell visit, and, perhaps, to receive satisfaction to his vanity in the shape of a salute. I only mention this incident to show the absurdity of missionaries picking out these natives to parade to the civilized world as models of piety and divine grace. A missionary writer lately described Kekuanaoa as such, and related some very edifying reply he made to

an American officer who called on him on a Sunday to make arrangements for the salutes.* Now so far from his being the immaculate and saintly personage there portrayed, he is one of the most jovial of the natives, got up for our entertainment the Hula Hula, and paid us a visit on Sunday morning instead of going to chapel. Is it not sufficiently praiseworthy to have changed savage men into civilized members of society, without exalting them into saints, at the risk of making them appear hypocrites to travellers who happen afterwards to come into contact with them?

* See Rev. R. CHEEVER'S *The Island World*. New York.

CHAPTER XVII.

A Tour round Oahu—Kekuanaoa and his Daughter—Valley of Nuuanu—The Pali—Panorama—A Native Hut and its Inmates—Kanaka Dinner—Dwellings of Natives—Manner of Eating—Pet Animals—A Night in a Hut—Gliding Sketch of Country and Inhabitants—A Chinese Emigrant—Rest in a Kanaka Hut, and a Scene of Morals—Progress of South Sea Islands in Christianity and Civilization—Vices—Departure from Kanaka Hut—An English Judge—Cattle—Exportation of Hides—Animals—District of Waialua—Ride to Ewa—Ewa—A Kanaka Family—Kalo, and Manner of preparing Poi—Remarks on the Tour—Leave Honolulu—Karakoa Bay—Lazaref Island.

On the 17th of January, at six o'clock on a most lovely morning, the Doctor and myself started for a little trip round the Island of Oahu. While we waited for horses at the house of a German merchant, a low carriage, drawn by a poor, bony animal, and driven by a gentleman Kanaka, stopped at the door. Accompanying him was a tawny little girl in a round hat and black silk cape, who held the reins when the old gentleman alighted. This person was introduced to me as his Excellency the Governor of Oahu, and the father of the King, and the lady as his daughter the Princess.

While we were talking to him in the warehouse, the chaise outside was besieged by a few good-looking young Kanakas, who now and then passed a sly word to the lady, which made her show her white teeth, and return an answer with glances that must have

ravished the hearts of the ambitious young swains. When the old man came out, however, they glided away, and after telling me on no account to miss the hula hula, he took his place again by the side of his fair daughter, and drove away.

Almost every traveller who has visited Honolulu has described the beauties of the Valley of Nuuanu, and the celebrated *pali*, or precipice, of the same name. As you ascend, the points of view are changed at each moment: cascades like fillets of silver are streaming down the foliage-clad precipice on either side of you; light and shadow produce magnificent effects as they are thrown upon the dark lava rocks, the water-falls, or the emerald green of the trees growing luxuriantly in the chasms; while the light clouds driven over the brow of the mountain before the trade wind are painted with one continued rainbow. One end of the beautiful arc may be at your feet, the other veiling in soft colours the opposite side of the valley. The rider seems to pass through rainbows one after the other, and during the whole trip there were not two hours during the day that the rainbow was not somewhere visible. Yet no rain fell; the rainy season was just over, and there could not have been a more favourable time for seeing the island, which at other times does not present so happy an appearance. Certainly the Valley of Nuuanu should be called the valley of rainbows.

On reaching the top of the pass, the north-eastern side of the island opens on the traveller's sight. He stands as it were on the back-bone of the island; from which, right and left, like the ribs from the spine, the

smaller spurs of hills extend towards the sea. On the terrace of smooth lava, where he stands, he may (if his head be not too dizzy) look down the pali, an almost perpendicular precipice of more than 1,500 feet. Below, at its foot, a Kanaka hut is embosomed in bananas, and surrounded with kalo ponds; and if the eye slowly rise it will rest on the magnificent panorama of the plains of Kameoha, covered with herds of cattle, unremarked in repose, but observed in their motion when pursued by the well-mounted Kanaka, wielding and whirling the dread lasso. The view is bounded by the village of Kualoa on the sea-shore, the white line of breakers on the coral reef, and beyond, in apparent rest, the dark and liquid blue of the great ocean. This day there was a lull in the trade wind, which usually blows with terrific force through the pass, and the clouds were lazily curling around the peaks on either side, the Gog and Magog of the portals of the pali.

The present horse-path over the pali was made since the country has been under the influence of foreigners. Formerly there was only a "trail" by which the native runner could pass. Some years ago the whole army of an opposing chief was swept down this awful gulf by the men of Kamehameha the Great, the Egbert of Hawaii, who centred in his own person the sovereignty of all his co-princes, and became first king of the Sandwich Islands.

When once in the valley, it is with astonishment you look up and survey the perpendicular height from which you have just descended. At the foot of the pass the land is broken by small ravines and grassy knolls, across both of which the shallow trenches may

be seen which mark the boundaries of grazing grounds. Once or twice we came across a white man, accompanied by wild-looking natives, hunting down the cattle with the lasso, and a hearty invitation was always given to ride home with him and refresh ourselves. Whatever such men were, whether peaceable settlers or reckless adventurers, I know not; but every one I met—and some of them were as wild as the savages themselves—was ready to devote whatever was in his power, either to satisfy our bodily wants, or afford us information.

The little native hut, embowered in foliage, which we had looked down upon from the top of the pali, was the property of a gentleman in Honolulu, and he had placed it at our disposal. It was, however, rather difficult of approach, the horses sinking up to their knees in the deep black soil. About twenty men and women, engaged in some agricultural pursuit, immediately on seeing us threw down their implements and ran up to the hut. On our arrival there, mats were already spread before the door, and pillows placed on them, and, the whole party assisting, our traps were unpacked, and the horses tethered in the rich grass. Two of the girls allured one of their favourite cocks, and wrung his neck; others went to pull the kalo or gather the bananas; some of the men began to arrange a stone oven in the ground, while the father of the brood set about opening a cask which contained thy grateful beverage, O world-renowned Bass! Universal as thy bitter beer is, and refreshing in every clime, it was an unexpected treat to find it thus after a hot and dusty ride in a Kanaka hut!

Having bathed in a pretty little dell, we found our dinner awaiting us on our return to the hut. Green leaves of the banana were our table-cloth; the cock, kalo, and sweet potatoes baked in the stone oven formed the repast. Knives and forks there were none, but we had been too long in the land of chop-sticks to make that a difficulty. Five or six of the girls sat down behind and beside us, with palm-leaves in their hands, to fan us, and brush away the flies. The men all seemed to have disappeared, except the old man who was our Ganymede. He made an intelligible sign to us, and a nod towards the girls, which, as I had been informed of the customs of the people, we did not choose to understand. After four hours' rest we mounted our horses, and rode across the plain to the district of Kualoa, a missionary station, the little bell of whose chapel was tinkling as we slowly rode by. Some distance farther on, amid a group of native habitations, was another little chapel surmounted by a cross; it was that of the French Catholic mission. Here also there seemed to be a religious service, as I saw several of the natives entering the doors.

As the sun sank behind the range of mountains, and the short twilight was fading into darkness, we were in a district where not a house was to be seen, and began to inquire where we should spend the night. A couple of natives, riding up, offered to conduct us to the house of a Haouli (stranger), who lived somewhere up the mountains. But our plan was to see native living and habits, and when the Kanaka, who spoke a few words of English, offered us his own hut,

we immediately accepted the proposal. Half an hour's ride in the darkness through streams, old kalo patches, and muddy holes, brought us upon a little grassy and wooded knoll where stood the native's hut.

I have before said that these huts resemble old hay-stacks. In the interior is a grass partition, dividing them into two unequal parts: the larger is devoted to domestic purposes; in the smaller is a platform covered with mats, the sleeping place of the family. In one or two I afterwards entered I saw little holes, where the younger girls slept apart from the males of the family. This is one of the practical effects of missionary teaching, though I am afraid it is not always a virtue-preserving remedy; but that is the fault of the pupil, not the teacher. The family of which we were now the guests consisted of two men, two women, four children, two pet dogs, and a sucking pig, also a pet. After they had prepared us some kalo, with which a traveller can always drive away hunger, the whole party squatted down round the poi calabash, and began their own meal. To judge of the manner a native eats his poi, one must see him at work. He dips his two forefingers in the mess, and with an experienced turn of the wrist winds the stuff round his fingers, conveys them to his mouth, and after a hearty suck, withdraws them with a smack of the lips. On the present occasion the elder woman, after taking a mouthful herself, dipped again and gave the dogs each a fingerful; the younger one did the same to her sucking pig. Grandfather had the younger baby in his arms, and fed the little urchin

from his own mouth, an occupation which seemed his duty, for the women did not trouble themselves with aught but the dogs and the pigs. This interesting meal being finished, the young lady took down her double calabash,* and, accompanying herself on it with the palms of her hands and her elbows, favoured us by singing a song. The raised platform was given up for our convenience, and after an encounter with several cockroaches of monstrous size, I fell into a doze amid the buzzing of mosquitoes. How long I lay thus I don't know, but I was aroused by somebody creeping near me. It was my host, and all I understood of his broken English was, "ten dollars," and reference made to the girl who had been singing the Ola Ola. Cursing him for his trouble, I went to sleep again, and the next morning, looking, as Narcissus did, in a running stream, I certainly stood no chance of being *mutatus in florem* for my vanity, as I did anything but admire myself after the night attack which had been made upon me. At sunrise we started off again, our horses refreshed from the rich pasture in which they had passed the night.

As the ground we now passed over has been several times described by tourists, I will rather sketch than describe. The features of the coast along which we rode were lava-jutting promontory and shallow reef-locked bay. Some hoary old rock, like an out-picket, was receiving the boiling surf thrown over it by the now fresh trade wind. Walls of coral, built

* A large gourd, trained to grow double, and from which the pulp has been extracted.

across the shallow bays in former times by despotic old chiefs, or rather by their retainers, enclosed vast fish-ponds. Kalo patches in full produce; others all dilapidated, bespeaking their necessity in former times; small fish-ponds; herds of fine cattle ranging the hills; the heavily-spurred Kanaka, lasso in hand, riding over impossible spots in their pursuit; a few grass huts in a grove of cocos; or a solitary tree, bowed by the trade wind, lonely amid the lava rocks, looking as though some wave had thrown the nut on the beach, and left it to nature and man's neglect to germ and thrive;—such were a few of the panoramic pictures of our ride. A lonely but loving pair, in some retired spot, clasped arm in arm and lip to lip, started out of their dream at the sight of the passing Haouli. A lot of school-girls, women in growth, whose laughter was heard long before they were seen, were recklessly riding home from some missionary school. As they passed us, they gave us a look of curiosity;—Aloha! (greeting to you), and on they went again at full speed. Once or twice on the journey an individual,

> "Whose naked feet and neck, and sunburnt face,
> Perchance might suit alike with either race,"

gave us a familiar good morning in English, that proclaimed him a countryman or a *cousin*. Here was a party of men, women, and children, wading out on the reefs, picking up clams and shell-fish; and there, in some shallow brook, a group of native girls bathing, and, dusky Naiads as they were, laughingly trying to disappear under the water, which only half concealed them, as our horses forded the stream. Again, we

would meet a party of three or four Kanakas, all mounted, driving a fat hog to market, or a solitary horseman, with a squealing pig before him on the saddle, galloping to the same destination. From all came a friendly "Aloha!" from a few, expressive signs to stop and become acquainted.

We had passed a hamlet of straggling huts, called Laie, and about midday came to the picturesque valley of Kahana, where a hospitable Chinese settler invited us to stop and refresh ourselves. His name was "Ahsing," and he had been for many years in the island. His land consisted of about four thousand acres of pasture up the valley, upon which fine herds and flocks were feeding. The establishment was composed of one of his countrymen, several natives, and a very pretty little boy, whom he had adopted, after the manner of his nation. He was the son of Kanaka parents, so he told me; but there was a certain obliquity of the eye which could not deceive one who had made it a study to remark the modification of the human type by intermarriage of different races during a long voyage in different lands. Our host had been suffering for some weeks from a gastric fever; his residence was too remote to obtain proper medical advice, so he was doctoring himself according to his own ideas and those of his friends, of course with little advantage. His medicine consisted of a number of patent omni-curing drugs, sent out from America. These he had tried, one after the other, with no success; but the preparations must have been very harmless, or they would long ago have killed him. My companion examined his symptoms, and prescribed

a course of treatment for him, after he had promised not to make any more use of the patent trash. It was evidently a case of abuse of opium.

That same afternoon, in one of the fairest spots of the island, we stopped for a short time to rest at one of the better sort of Kanaka dwellings, inasmuch as it had a wooden porch and platform before the entrance. Under this porch the family was assembled, consisting of age, youth, and childhood. They placed mats for us, and brought water. The father was engaged in some occupation, the mother and two daughters were sewing. I saw I was with a family of civilized natives; the father, I soon heard, was a deacon, or something in the church. We, of course, became the object of their conversation, and many inquiring glances were thrown upon us in between. The word *Mitonari* (missionary) was repeated often, as also the word *Manuwa*, which means man-of-war. I had brought from Honolulu a little phrase book compiled by one of the missionaries, and as the language, like the Malay, is very simple, I was able to ask for what I wanted, besides having learnt a few common words by repeatedly looking through the book. My impression was that they took us either for missionaries, or in some way connected with them, for on a word from the father, one of the girls fetched a book, and the other a slate and pencil; but these two girls merit a short description.

Both were very pretty; the elder, whose age was seventeen, was already a woman; but the younger, about fourteen, was the most perfect specimen of a young civilized savage I had ever seen. Her com-

plexion, like her sister's, was of a light brown, and the skin so fine that—

> "Through her tropic cheek
> The blush would make its way, and all but speak.
> The sun-born blood suffused her neck, and threw
> O'er her clear nut-brown skin a lucid hue,
> Like coral reddening through the darkening wave."

The words of the poet are no exaggeration. The blood mounted up in that girl's face from some emotion of which I am ignorant, in a manner that astonished me. As she stood leaning sideways against the wall half crouching, one shoulder raised on which rested her cheek, one finger in her mouth between her glittering teeth, her dark liquid eyes in their large orbits raised on the Haouli (such eyes I had never before seen but once, and that at Singapore in a Hindoo woman), I regretted that I had not the power to throw her as she was on canvas—it was a model to charm Carl Haag.

Whether it was the charm of her soft large black eyes, or her timid and childish manner, I do not know, but the girl interested me so much that I was curious to know something more about her. I beckoned her to come and sit down by me, which she did after some hesitation, and for half-an-hour I occupied myself in setting her little sums on her slate, and in hearing her read. She added up numbers very well, subtracted also, broke down in multiplying a few figures by nine, but succeeded very well with more easy numbers. She read pretty well, and worked neatly with her needle. Both sisters attended the missionary school.

I do not know if our beginning to smoke caused any

change of opinion among the party, but it certainly changed their manner. A lively conversation ensued, in which the word *Manuwa* (man-of-war) was repeated, with the same sly glances at ourselves. One of the old women at last came up, and pointing to me, said, "Manuwa." I nodded yes. Immediately a weight seemed to be taken off their minds. The man pulled out his little wooden pipe; an old woman presented me hers to take a whiff, which I pretended to do; the girls, I was glad to see, would not smoke. After a little while the mother of the girls made an unmistakable sign, first at her daughters, and then at the interior of the hut. The elder girl, who, I am afraid, was no novice, sat down by my companion, and having heard the jingle of silver coin in his pocket, tried hard to insert her hand therein. The mother made signs to the younger one to do the same with me, but somehow there was such a look of goodness and confidence in her eye, as it was fixed on me, that I would not have done the least thing to tempt that poor savage, in whom I could almost read the struggle between her half-retrieved nature and the good effects of the teaching which she had received. Her sister, however, seemed to have no such compunction; with her the Rubicon between duty and desire had often been crossed and recrossed, and she seemed perfectly ready to enter into all the plans of her parents; and dollars, dollars seemed to be the only object of those parents. I do not hesitate for one moment in saying, from what I saw and heard, that not amid the abandoned of large continental cities are procurers to vice so numerous as among this much-boasted Christian native population

of the Sandwich Islands, where mother and father, husband or brother, with few exceptions, are ready to act that part for the sake of a little silver. If Christianity has ever impressed on their hearts what virtue is, the mark has been very light, and soon obliterated; and what hope can there be for youth, when the good they may have learned in the mission schools is counteracted by the vice and bad example which surround them in their parental circle?

That licentiousness is the deadliest failing of the Hawaian has been told by all writers, lay or missionary, who have had any knowledge of native character, and their manner of living. Even the pet disciples of the latter, whose letters and pious conversations fill missionary books, and form important items in missionary sermons, are often the first to fall away. Yet they must not be accused of hypocrisy; they are only savages, children of the world still. They look upon their white teachers with respect, and fear them as children of all other countries do theirs. Learning to read and write, they know, and can repeat, a vast number of moral verses; great imitators, and cunning withal, they repeat back to their masters their own phrases, which they have learnt from them, because they see it gives them pleasure, just as children who have learned their lesson well, take delight in repeating it. The moment the constraint of their training is lessened, and they are out of sight of their teachers, they fall back into the old habits of their nature. Like children again, they commit faults, lie to hide them for fear of the consequence, but when their deeds are actually brought home to them, they will confess them

all, and many more, with apparent relish—weep—go home, and in the instability and insincerity of their nature, forget all about the sin and the repentance, and commit the same over again, whenever the opportunity or the desire presents itself. It is more than can be expected of human nature that half-civilized people, like these, should be able to control their wishes and passions, and withstand temptation, when men in more civilized lands so often yield to it, though they be aided by the moral law and their superior endowments.

It is not hypocrisy, therefore, when in these islands you find a man parading his religion one day to his teachers and his fellows, and selling his wife or daughter the next for a dollar, or bestowing them as a duty of friendship and hospitality. Hypocrisy is a vice of civilized communities alone, and must not be confounded with the cunning natural to all savages. And a savage, with all his native cunning, would need a long training to practise that vice to advantage, or to avoid being discovered by those whose eye is upon him.

To return from this digression. The mother of the girls used every persuasion to induce us to remain that night, intimating by unmistakable pantomime that the hut, her pigs, fowls, daughters, or anything she had, were at our disposal. Making her a present for the fruit we had taken from her, and another to her good little daughter to buy her some books or a dress, with an injunction to do what she was taught at school, we rode off, leaving the worthy elders undecided whether we were really *Manuwa* or *Mitonari*.

The next district was that of Kaluuka. Here our attention was arrested by a large hole in the bare black

lava, beneath which lay our road. A dirty piece of cloth was waving to and fro before the entrance, which was too high for me to climb with facility. Had I then known what the cavern contained, I would have contrived to find admittance. It was one of the old burying places of the Hawaians. Some of these caves were formerly shown by the natives to foreigners, but such was the disregard of the latter to the feelings of the people, that the desecration of the dead was nought to the satisfaction of their curiosity. The situation of many of these caves is, therefore, still a profound secret.

The same night we arrived at the extreme north end of the island, where in an enclosure were several grass huts, the residence of an Englishman, judge of the district. Hospitality was with him a duty, if nothing else, and one of the little huts furnished as a bedroom was given to us. The fierce trade wind and the seething surf on the reefs soon calmed us to sleep with their music, a sleep uninterrupted by vermin. Our host had been a resident for many years among the islands; his lonely life was rendered supportable by a well-selected library, and a collection of a few curiosities of the country, among which were many specimens of lava from the volcano, and tresses of Pele's hair. This is vitreous lava torn from the mass when ejected from the crater, and which, spun by the wind which bears it along, falls at all distances around like threads of the finest glass.

The next morning, as a native was about to saddle our horses, they broke from their lassos and began a regular stampede. Scouring over the plain towards the mountains, I saw them fall into company with a

troop of half-wild animals, setting the whole in motion, and their forms soon grew small and beautifully less as they continued their mad career along the mountain sides. The horrified native set off in pursuit, and we, after staring for some minutes after the beasts already long out of sight, turned and looked at one another—one laughed and the other swore. No horses were to be had in the immediate neighbourhood without catching them, and of that there seemed still less chance than of getting our own back again. The native, however, after an hour's absence, caught one with a lasso, and the other, in a spirit of true friendship, preferred following his old companion back again into slavery to remaining with his newly made and free acquaintances.

Vast herds of cattle belonging to the King roam, half wild, throughout all this the most retired part of the island. They form, indeed, the chief riches, as there is no agricultural industry at all in Oahu. The sugar, coffee, and other plantations are in the other islands; but it is over the vast and waterless plains of Hawaii between the great mountains, and among their valleys, that the wild cattle roam. They are the descendants of five cows and a bull put ashore by Vancouver in Kealakekua Bay, and presented to Kamehameha the Great. That chief tabooed them; and when the taboo, which was faithfully observed, expired, the above districts were overrun by them. Vaqueros were brought over from Sonora to teach the Kanakas the use of the lasso, to jerk beef, and cure hides. At this day the pupil rivals his former master in wildness, recklessness, and originality. The Government and the King are the owners of all unmarked

cattle, and these, of course, are under that denomination. The right to hunt is leased out to farmers, who engage the hunters at the rate of one dollar twenty-five cents for each bull's hide, and one dollar for a cow's. To show the enormous number which is killed every year, it will be sufficient to mention that 222,170 pounds of hides were exported during the first two quarters of 1859, their export value being 55,542 dollars. The same plan is pursued in hunting them as in the plains of South America, driving them into an inclosure, and lassoing and killing them at leisure. The hides only are taken here, the rest being left for hogs and dogs. There is the same want of forethought for the future as in all kinds of hunting or fishing where the gains are great. Young and old are slaughtered indiscriminately, and in a few years they will have totally disappeared.

When these islands were discovered by Cook in 1778, and for long after, the only animals were dogs, pigs, fowls, mice, the snipe, duck, plover, and a few peculiar varieties of birds. Now, in addition to domestic cattle and fowls of all sorts, most of the domestic quadrupeds are found wild in the larger islands. Hogs are so plentiful as to afford good sport to the amateur. Dogs roam in packs and hunt on their own account. Wild goats browse on the lava rocks, and cats find an excellent living on the mice with which the country swarms. Of birds, the only two varieties which have turned wild are the pigeon and the turkey. Several species of common birds have lately been introduced from America, which my host of last night informed me were thriving.

A sharp ride over a flat country protected by sand-hills from the sea, whose spray might be seen like a blue cloud above them, brought us to Waialua, one of the most picturesque as well as the most flourishing districts of the island. Many foreigners had settled here, exercising different useful employments; there were both American and French missionaries, well-built chapels for each, and altogether a remarkable air of civilization about the place. There was even a little shop, kept by the son of the missionary, who, I heard, had been defeated a few days before by a native at an election for the House of Representatives. I was also informed that the return would be contested, as the native had been guilty of bribery. Bribery at elections in the Sandwich Islands! What storms can there not be raised even in a pail of water!

The intelligent Kanaka, graduate in arts of the Royal College of Laihananula and descendant of some great chief, so he stated, gave me these particulars as he was cooking some delicious mullet, just taken from a neighbouring fish-pond. Thinking to relish this repast with some other beverage than water, we walked up to the little shop, to endeavour to get a bottle of ale; but the native who served informed me that I could not have either beer or other liquors without the consent of the missionary, which I did not take the trouble to go and ask for. He further said that tobacco was not allowed to be sold at all. This seemed very strange to me, as the man showed me a drawer full of pipes, of which I did not perceive the use without tobacco, unless the natives amused themselves blowing soap-bubbles. It is perfectly just

to taboo all intoxicating liquors; but the native will smoke, and I think it folly to continue to forbid the use of what the native will indulge in, even if he lie to hide it, and which, if moderately used, is not baneful either physically or morally.*

From Waialua to Ewa, across the island, is a road capable of being traversed by bullock carts, if very strong, and by this the producers at the former place send their fruits to the market at Honolulu. On horseback, it is a fine ride over a high table-land cut up by a ravine, which has to be crossed several times, and down in whose depths some of the most fairy glimpses of scenery attract the eye. On either side are high mountains; behind is the windward side of the island, with its white line of breakers, and the beautiful valley of Waialua with its winding streams, looking like threads of silver amid the rich vegetation around. Over this table-land, pent between mountains, the trade wind blows with great force, and the vapour attracted on each side by the mountains is painted with rainbows. Hardly a tree is to be seen except in the ravine, not one house the whole distance of twenty-three miles, and seldom a human being, except a bullock driver, or a wild Kanaka hunting the cattle which roam over the plains. Most of

* The missionaries were of opinion that smoking tobacco leads to acts of lasciviousness, and so tabooed its use. It is a pity some of them could not read the controversy which took place a few years ago in England among medical men, many of whom declared that its effects were just the contrary. In the same manner ignorance ascribes acts of desperation to the use of opium, when it is well known that it soothes or stupefies the whole nervous system, according to the quantity taken.

this land belonged, I was told, to the Princess Victoria, a young lady twenty-two years of age, unmarried, and a great heiress.

One of the greatest difficulties the young Government of these islands had to overcome was in settling the ownership of the soil. Before European ingress, serfdom, similar to that in feudal Europe, existed. Kamehameha, in possessing himself of the chief power, concentrated, as it were, this system in himself, and the lower orders during his life were comparatively happy. But during the disturbed times of his successors, the King and his favourite chiefs monopolized all the finest lands to themselves, racked their serfs to the utmost extent for present gain, robbed them even of their trees, their kalo patches, and the fruits of their enclosures, until the unfortunate tenants, finding all their supposed right to the soil unheeded by their rulers, and incapable of resistance, wandered away to wherever a greater chance offered of begging, stealing, or working. The women at the seaports reaped a harvest by prostitution, and the men most probably lived on their gains. The lands became deserted, kalo patches fell to ruin, and the huts of the valleys were left tenantless. Much of this land, the finest in the group, passed into the hands of speculating foreigners, the chiefs being glad to accept whatever was offered for it. In 1849, however, a land commission was established, before which the native, on proving his right to the land which he and his ancestors had cultivated, again received possession of it in fee simple. The chiefs stoutly opposed this; still greater was the difficulty in deciding

the ownership of the land, when often a dozen claimants presented themselves for the same patch. But it was brought about at last; and at the present time, though chiefs and foreigners are the owners of vast wastes of land, yet the man of the lower order has his little home in the valley, his bed of kalo, perhaps a fish-pond, and the means of making his life an easy and happy one with but little exertion. Most of the articles to sustain life are at his door; a few dollars are all it is absolutely necessary for him to earn, to pay his taxes and his teachers, and to provide himself and family with their scanty clothing. With a few this change has been the means of creating something like enterprise in cultivating their land and selling their surplus produce; but for the most part the old habits of their indolent nature are too strong to be thrown off, and they are content to get on with the bare necessities of their easily procured existence in the same slovenly way as ever.

At Ewa, where we arrived late one evening, we entered the first Kanaka hut we found. The master and his wife busied themselves in cooking a fowl, some kalo, and sweet potatoes, and, having arranged a mat for us on one side of their abode, themselves lay down on the opposite side. The interior was very clean, and divers household utensils of foreign make were scattered about. The district of Ewa has not much of the picturesque; but it has an air of industry about it most creditable to the natives and to those who have set the example. Ewa is only twelve miles distant from Honolulu. Between the two places there is nothing remarkable, except a salt lake, having an

underground communication with the sea and the lagoons, formerly the resort of pearl fishers. The distance being so short to the end of our trip, we determined to remain at some pretty spot on the road, and enter Honolulu in the evening. A snug little place, hidden in a grove of bananas, soon after presenting itself, we rode up, and found a family of Kanakas idling away time under the shade of the kokai and young bread-fruit trees in front of their hut. The horses were soon picketed in the grass among the taro beds, and all the active members of the family busied themselves in preparing a breakfast. We took their places under the trees, on mats, and in a state of *dolce far niente* passed nearly the whole day watching the doings, or more often the lazy inactivity, of a Kanaka family.

In that family there were five generations. A very, very old woman, shrivelled in body, with a few scant hairs white as snow, was wrapped up in tapa, and lay just outside the door of the hut; she seemed quite heedless of what was passing around her. Her daughter, who looked almost as old as herself, except that she had abundance of ragged hair of a dark grey, sat by her side, and from time to time took the short wooden pipe out of her own mouth to put it in that of her mother, whose strength seemed hardly sufficient to inhale the smoke. Her son, the head of the family, a sturdy fellow about forty years of age, was busy heating stones in the little cooking hovel adjoining their abode. His wife was sprawling on the ground, and their daughter, a girl of sixteen, was in the same position, with her head pillowed on her mother's

body. One son, a soldier of the king's guard, had come from town to see his family, and had brought his two children to see their parent of four generations. Another son, dressed like a gentleman in black, was loafing about, till a girl, one of the lookers on, attracted his attention, and led him off to some neighbouring hut.

After they had baked us our fish and fowl, ticalo and sweet potatoes, the father began to roast the kalo and make poi. This forms the national food of the Hawaian islander, as the potato is that of the Irish peasant, and rice of the Malay, Chinese, or Japanese. No other article of food is to be compared to it in their opinion, and it may be said that, with raw fish, it is their only subsistence. Even the half-caste ladies of the capital, who wear small bonnets, large crinolines, and opera cloaks, on visiting the home of their childhood, do not disdain to dip two delicate fingers into the parental gourd, as they did when quite young children, before their fairer complexions and pretty looks obtained them husbands among the dignitaries of the island, or placed them at the foot of a European board.

The kalo, or taro (*Arum esculentum* of botanists), is planted in large patches, the bottom of which is well beaten, to make them capable of holding water. In these patches, small round beds of soil are pegged in with stakes, a short distance apart, to allow the absorption of the surrounding water. The suckers are planted in these beds, and the vegetable, when at its full growth, is the size of a large turnip. Half a rood is sufficient to nourish the most numerous family the whole year.

The root, when taken from the stone oven, is of a bluish-gray colour, of starchy taste, and often supplies the place of the potato at the table of foreigners. The process of converting it into poi, as I saw on the present occasion, was this:—The women well washed the baked roots in cold water, cleaned off the skin, and threw them into the large wooden tray before which the father was sitting. He pounded them with a stone pestle, resembling an ordinary dumb-bell, until the mass was kneaded into the substance of dough. This is hard labour, so much so, that it has always formed part of the man's duty to make the poi. When the pulp was beaten sufficiently smooth, it was put in lumps into little casks made out of the leaves of the young banana plant, and carefully tied up. He then took a calabash, and, mixing a portion of the paste with water until it became like thick gruel, set it apart for present use. This was the poi, which is either eaten fresh, or after fermentation has commenced, in which state it is preferred. Shortly after, seeing the family disappear one by one, I found them on the other side of the hut, feasting on sour poi and raw fish, a species of mullet, kept always ready for use in the fish-ponds.

Throughout this little trip, instead of accepting the hospitality of foreigners, we had preferred taking up our quarters among the natives, as the only means of obtaining an insight into their habits. Three nights, however, amid the vermin which abounds in their huts, were quite sufficient. Although personally clean, their domestic habits are disgustingly the reverse. Their huts, strewn with grass, which is seldom renewed,

are as much the abode of dogs, pigs, fowls, as of themselves; the floor becomes the lurking-place of thousands of fleas, and the roof and sides the coverts of enormous cock-roaches. Although we were received with the greatest pleasure by the inhabitants, it was with the tacit understanding on their parts that they would be well rewarded for their pains. In no other country was hospitality so profuse as it was here in former times. Every means were adopted to entertain a guest; and it was considered the greatest meanness to refuse to grant any favour, whatever it might be. But with the whites came the necessity, and with the necessity the love, of money; and no people can covet it more and yet set less value on it than do the half-civilized South Sea Islanders.

In remunerating the natives at whose huts we either spent the night or took anything, we always gave them a certain sum, which was received without the least mark of joy. Thinking they considered it insufficient, we doubled the sum, but there was the same unconcern. In fact, they have no word to express either thanks or gratitude. "Aloha" means with them everything. Not only the above words, but many others, expressing good qualities, were wanting in their language, and the translators of the Scriptures had actually to create those ideas in the mind of the savage before they found words to call them by a name. Only on one occasion did a fellow ask me for money, some time before I started. On most occasions, just before mounting, I would put one, two, or more dollars into the hands of my host; he would take them with unconcern, sometimes I thought with disappointment;

but on our moving off, his face would put on a still livelier look than the broad grin of good-humour peculiar to his features, and often he would rush after us to shake hands before parting. On one occasion we purposely rode off without making any present in return; there was the same indifference, the same "Aloha," and shaking of hands, and, on our return a quarter of an hour afterwards and giving him some money, it was all the same apparently to him as regarded the money whether we had returned or not. Before we gave him anything he offered to assist me to dismount, thinking and hoping, he said, we were going to stay another day there. This man was altogether an exception to the generality of his countrymen.

After leaving Honolulu, we were becalmed for three days under the Island of Hawaii, in front of Karakoa Bay, the scene of Captain Cook's death. Before us towered the enormous dome of Mauna Loa, the most extensive volcano in the world, and which had been now for some months in an active state. Although it is tedious to remain becalmed in any part of the ocean, yet, in such a spot as this, amusement could always be found in watching the ever-changing aspect of this grand island, as the sun passed over it, or as masses of clouds built themselves up around its summits. The naval part of the squadron, however, amused themselves otherwise, viz., in exercising with boats, attacking the gun-boat, and in keeping up a continual cannonade.

When, on the third day, the trade wind suddenly

blew home to us on rounding the south-west of the island, we set studding-sails and proceeded towards Tahiti. The wind came the whole time from due east, and blew without intermission, so that we easily fetched the most leeward island of the Pomoutou, or dangerous archipelago. This island is called after its discoverer, the Russian Admiral Lazaref. As the Russian Commodore had served long under him, a salute of thirteen guns was fired from both ships, and a number of rockets let off, as we passed abreast of the island at midnight, as a mark of respect to the deceased Admiral. A number of fires were seen on the island, probably those of the natives, who visit the group for collecting cocoa-nut oil and fishing the pearl oyster.

CHAPTER XVIII.

Arrival at Island of Tahiti—French Protectorate—A good Thing for the Islands—Sketch of Tahiti—Divisions—Districts—Native Government—Laws—Commerce—Produce of Island—Revenue—Papeete—Queen Pomare—French Newspaper—Its Character.

On Saturday the 11th February, the dark summits of Tahiti were seen above the clouds which whitened the horizon. Having shortened sail for the night, we were the next morning well in with the island, and had a fine view of it, and of the neighbouring island of Eimeo, or Morea, the mother and daughter, as the natives call them.

As we steamed up to the reefs, a pilot boat came out, and we were soon at anchor within them before the village of Papeete, the capital of the island.

The island of Tahiti is divided by nature into two parts, the main island, and a pear-shaped peninsula connected to the former by an isthmus about two miles wide. The inhabited parts are on the sea-shore, or extend a short distance into the valleys, which all radiate from the centre of the island. The leeward side of the island is the most populated and fertile, as rain falls there oftener than on the other; it is also more barred by coral reefs, through which openings are found in front of each valley, which contains a stream. The eastern or windward side is more rugged, with precipitous

rocks washed at their base by the unbroken flow of the ocean. Only here and there are reefs; but I remarked on the north-east side a long white strip of colour in the blue water, evidently caused by the coral working slowly upwards. The interior of the island is composed of rocky eminences and deep and wild gorges, in one of which is the remarkable lake of Vaihiria. Vegetation extends to the very heads of the valleys, wild fruits grow in abundance, which are seldom gathered by the indolent population unless they are pressed by want.

Each of the fourteen districts into which the island is divided has its chief male or female, a judge, minister, schoolmaster, and chief *mutoi*, or policemen, with subordinates.* Only in one district is there a European Protestant minister; there are two French Catholic priests, in addition to Monseigneur Jaussen, bishop and apostolic vicar. In Eimeo there is only one minister, Mr. Simpson, the superior of the Protestant churches of all the islands. This gentleman, and Mr. Darling in Tahiti, are the only two remaining of all the English missionaries who did so much to christianize these isles.

The Government of the island is called a native Government, but, of course, it is under the absolute control of the French commandant and imperial commissioner. Each department of the executive is presided over by French officers. The legislative assembly is composed of natives chosen by each district, and

* The judges received 300 francs a year; the ministers and schoolmasters, 240 francs.

comprises fifty-nine members, besides the Court of Toohitus, or high chiefs, with a commissioner, orator, and another, all Frenchmen, who propose the laws, but have only a simple vote like the rest. All acts are issued in the name of the Queen Pomare, acting in *common accord* with the Imperial commissioner. All crime and disputes among the natives are judged by the native district judge, from whom there is right of appeal to the high court of Toohitus, in Papeete. This court also settles all cases concerning divorce and the ownership of land, the latter an affair of no little difficulty, so uncertain and contradictory are the ideas of most of the natives as to the boundaries or extent of the land possessed by their ancestors.

All cases wherein a foreigner is concerned, and all crimes committed by them, are tried by foreigners according to French law; and all disputes between a foreigner and a native are tried by a mixed court of natives and foreigners. Here especially may be seen the advantage of a strong Government protecting the native population. In my sketch of the Sandwich Islands, I mentioned one or two instances of murder committed on natives by foreigners, wherein the guilty were acquitted, or allowed to escape, either through the unjust pity of the foreigners who tried them, or the timid desire of the authorities not to encounter the interference of the Government to which the prisoner belonged. In looking through the registers of the island of Tahiti for the last two years, I found that all foreigners guilty of any offence against natives had been inflexibly punished.

The code of laws, printed in French and Tahitian,

are just, mild, simple, and apparently suited to the nature of the people. They are founded on the regulations in use before the French occupation, of which, however, many were expunged or modified, and very properly so, because they were directed, not against social offences, but against purely personal failures in morality. To enforce the observance of moral duties, the code gives certain directions for the guidance of the judge, and the *mutois*, or police, but the penalties are chiefly in the shape of public reprimand, and the disgrace attending it. Habits of industry, domestic virtue, education and so forth, are strictly inculcated; and the neglect of them is punished. For example, the old custom of begging, plucking the bread-fruit, or fei, on the ground of another, and not cultivating one's own ground, are punished by a small fine, which goes to the district the party belongs to. Rewards are given to those whose grounds are in the best order. The neglect of any domestic virtue is also to be publicly reprimanded by the judge; refractory children are to be confined for a day or two in the house of the chief, and perform some slight task. Neglect of children, or of infirm parents is punished by so many days labour; prostitution, or flagrant immorality, is punished on the complaint of parents, by hard labour for the man, and for the woman, by the task of making so much straw plait.*

* The law of February, 1859, says that the punishment awarded to females for any crime is not to be by fine, because they get the money so easily by prostitution, that such punishment is not only in effectual, but even an incentive to vice. Also, for the same reason, the mutois shall receive no premium for the conviction of male offenders as formerly.

However much the rule of the French may have been protective and perhaps preservative to the natives, all their attempts to promote industry and commerce have brought nothing but disappointment. In spite of much encouragement given to industry, by pecuniary assistance and by security of property, plantations which some years ago were rich with sugar cane and coffee, are now deserted, and grown wild with guavas or orange trees. One plantation cultivated by two Europeans gained for the first time the prize of 6,000 francs given for the production of 50,000 pounds of sugar, besides a privilege for the distillation of rum, on which a duty of 2*d.* per litre (little more than a pint) was to be put. Had this not been won, the proprietors would have lost by the production. To any native who can show his plot of ground well planted with cane a reward of 300 francs is given; but it seems all in vain; the European finds the native labourer not worthy of his hire. The Government has lately strongly recommended that the natives should pay more attention to the breeding of cattle, in order to ensure cheap and plentiful supplies to whale ships, and so entice them to the island, and this occupation seems more compatible with the feelings of the Tahitians.

The revenue of the Protectorate Government for 1859, derived from a business tax, the customs, dues, fines and penalties, amounted to the sum of 208,439 f. 85 c.: while the cost of carrying on the same was 530,000 francs. This is only the cost of the native Government, and of course does not include the pay of the French officers and troops.

The village of Papeete is beautifully situated in the

midst of cocoa-nut, orange and citron trees. One street forms the quay, another parallel to this is the celebrated Broom Road, bordered by gardens, groves and huts, lost amid the vegetation. To the Broom Road, the French with execrable taste have given the name of Rue de Rivoli; the other streets they have called Quai Napoleon, Boulevard de la Reine, &c. The Government building, the residence of the commissioner, the barracks, and a few houses of merchants are built in European style, chiefly of coral blocks, but one or two are of brick imported for the purpose. There is also a Roman Catholic cathedral so called, a Protestant chapel, schools of both denominations, the Roman Catholic being under the superintendence of the "Dames de St. Joseph de Cluny," of whom there are eight sisters with the lady president. I saw about one hundred young girls one Sunday walking in pairs to mass, and that was the number, I heard, which received instruction from those ladies. Fronting the village are two quays where ships may be hove down with all the necessary conveniences for repairs. The rates, which are moderate, are fixed by the Government, whose workmen are also employed.

In a field in the Broom Road is a small low building, half European, the residence of H. M. Pomare, when in town. Here the visitor may have an opportunity of visiting and conversing with her if he can speak Tahitian, for although she understands a *very* little French and English, she will speak no other language but her own. Pomare Vahine (woman) as she is commonly called, is now forty-eight years of age, and succeeded her infant brother in 1829. When only

nine years of age, she was married to Tapoa, King of Borabora, who separated from her in 1831. She then married her cousin Ariifaaite, and has had seven children, of whom five are living. Two of her sons and the only daughter have been adopted by the kings of the Leeward or Society Islands, and will succeed them on their death.

We had many opportunities of seeing the queen during our stay. At one time at a ball given by the resident, which she attended, she was accompanied by her aunt, and by several young girls. They were all dressed in loose robes of the fashion worn by the women in Tahiti, but made of silk. One lady, especially, whose acquaintance we had already made, was a pretty creature, timid, gentle, graceful and interesting, and did the honours of her house and table in such a pleasing, unaffected, yet attentive manner, as would charm even in Europe. She was the daughter of an Englishman married to Ariitaimai Vahine, a cousin of the queen, and herself was married to the first merchant in Tahiti, also an Englishman. She was about twenty years of age and already the mother of three children, who promised to be admirable specimens of the commingled European and Tahitian blood.

On another occasion Pomare was present at a dinner given in the open air in front of her palace. Instead of instrumental music, we then had a chorus of women and men, who squatted in groups, and sang their national songs with a strongly marked nasal twang. But the best moment for a visit was, when Pomare and her royal consort, imitating the times of *le Grand Louis*, were put to bed. This was about nine o'clock in the

evening, at which time their residence was surrounded by their lazy hangers-on, male and female, who sang the royal pair to sleep, which did not take a long time, to judge by the deep sounding snores which through the open window broke on the silent air of night. Pomare is at the present time forty-nine years of age, tall and stout, of extreme good-nature, and much beloved by her subjects in general.

There is a small Government newspaper in the French and Tahitian languages published in Papeete. Its columns, each language alternating, are chiefly filled with instructions to the people, the new laws, easy and useful hints for the promotion of industry and comfort among the natives, rebukes for neglect of duties, with official, local, and shipping intelligence. Simple tales are sometimes inserted, and during the last year a lengthened description was given of the campaign of the French armies in Italy, and accounts of the battles of Magenta and Solferino, with a description of the tour of the Emperor and Empress through parts of France, showing with what love and enthusiasm they were everywhere received by their people.

These warlike narrations have not been without result on the imagination of the people. Indeed, the well-known instinct of the French nation seems to have been long ago communicated to their swarthy protegés, whose amusements are stamped with a military character.* Many have made themselves a

* Martial games, naval reviews, manly sports, such as hurling the club or the spear, and archery, and also it must be added, cock-fighting, were among the chief amusements formerly. They were all discontinued when Christianity was introduced.

kind of uniform; epaulettes in imitation of the French they carve with great skill out of palm wood, and dye them of a golden yellow with turmeric; they plait their aiguillettes, tassels and shoulder knots from the inner fibres of the cocoa-nut tree; and they have all the instruments of military music which can be imitated with bamboo. When dressed in their mock uniform and accompanied by their mock band, the natives strut along with delight to the sound of a kettle drum.

CHAPTER XIX.

A Tour round Tahiti—Nature *versus* Art—Aspect of Western side of Island—Houses—Pictures by the way—A remarkable Cavern—Schoolhouses—Protestantism—Departure of Missionaries—Public Instruction—Dress—District of Papara—French Soldiers—Traffic in Spirits—Night in the South Sea—Catholic Priests—European Settlers—Cultivation of Vanilla—Lake of Vaihiria—Outlet of Lake Subterraneous—Bishop Jaussens—Papoari—A Night in the Minister's Hut—An Outcast—Road to Taravoa—Misfortunes by the way—Fort of Taravoa—The French Officer in Command—Prisoners: a Naughty Pair—Windward side of Tahiti—Matavia Bay and its Souvenirs—Point Venus—A Native Family—Return to Papeete.

A FEW days after our arrival at Tahiti I set out to make a short tour round the island. Although the sun was at this time almost vertical at noon, yet I did not start before that hour, for then the trade wind had gained force, and in some measure counteracted the heat. Englishmen in all hot climates are most eccentric in the choice of their hats; some wearing utensils in form between a helmet and a tea-kettle, with numerous pipes to let in air to the head; others sporting large shovel hats enveloped in muslin, turban fashion; for my part, I always found that the best and most convenient way to keep the head cool was to cut the hair tolerably short, and wear an ordinary cap of light material and large peak, with a white handkerchief pinned over it in such a manner as to leave a portion of it hanging down as a curtain over the nape of the

neck. By putting large leaves in the cap, and renewing them now and then, the head is kept continually refreshed.

Ariitaimai, the lady chief of the district of Papara, kindly gave me a letter to the principal resident of her district, ordering him to put her house at my disposal as long as I chose to stay. The distance thither was about twenty-two miles; but as my way lay through such scenes of novelty I did not arrive till after sunset.

The western, or leeward side of the island is entirely reef-locked, with openings more or less large opposite each valley. Viewed from an eminence, the surf seems like a white frill around the shore; within this is tranquil blue water, and scarcely a ripple beats the beach of the island itself. Here is a safe channel for boats of all sizes, and, in many parts, for ships. From the sea-shore to the base of the mountains extends a belt of land, varying from a quarter of a mile to two miles in width, burdened with vegetation, and containing here and there the enclosures and houses of the inhabitants. The numerous valleys, spreading out as they approach the sea, are there separated one from the other by the tails of the mountain ridges, so that the traveller, in making the tour of the island, is continually crossing spurs of hills and the teeming and picturesque valleys between them. Between Papeete and Papara there are at least a dozen such valleys, and from Papara to the Isthmus of Taravoa more than twenty. Fruit trees and an undergrowth of dense vegetation extend up these valleys to the very chasms of the mountains above. The

decomposed lava and other volcanic earths blown down by the wind, or swept down by the streams, have formed over this belt a soil so fertile that the quantity of vegetation perennially sustained by it is amazing.

When I was about eight miles from Papeete, and full on the western part of the island, the clouds of the trade wind, arrested by the summits of the interior, poured down densely over the western slopes, and discharged their copious contents. Before and behind the sky was without a cloud, and the mountains in those directions were in full sunshine; but in the spot where I was it rained a little deluge. This district and the isthmus are the parts wherein the most rain falls, which is easily accounted for by the local position of each with respect to the direction of the wind and the influence of the mountains. Having remained under some orange trees till I was drenched, and seeing no signs of abatement in the rain, I did what I ought to have done at once—took refuge in the hut of a native.*

* The abodes of the Sandwich Islands resemble, as I before said, ld haystacks. In Tahiti they are of a totally different construction. lost of them are oval or oblong in form; their sides formed of bamboo ems planted upright in the ground about an inch apart, to allow a ee current of air from all directions to penetrate. When the air is oo keen, the natives hang mats around the interior to shelter them rom the wind. The roof is thatched with palm leaves, and lined vith boards of the bread fruit tree. The floor is strewed thickly with ry grass, which is seldom changed, and soon becomes filled with ermin. Near the residences are generally other smaller huts for king, &c. The missionaries persuaded the people to built them- houses after the European fashion, with separate rooms, floors, and plastered walls, but those which were built were doned. Many writers, among whom is Ellis, speak of these

Five or six men and women, and a few children sprawling on their low bedsteads or on mats, leaped up as I entered and bade me welcome. One of the men soon climbed a cocoa-nut tree, and threw down the young nuts to be emptied of their refreshing contents. A Bible, in Tahitian, was lying open on the bed; also a hymn book, out of which one of the women read me a few verses, and all sang one of the hymns. Three married pairs lived in that hut; three bedsteads, covered with dirty mats, seemed the actual home of each, while in all utensils there was an entire communism. After half an hour, finding the rain did not cease, I again mounted, and soon rode out of it into sunshine.

The path now led through forests of guavas, orange, and citron trees, and the still green fruit hung over my head in clusters as I rode. Except in the little villages, there is everywhere the same thick wood of these trees, with now and then a small grove of cocoa-nut, bread-fruit, or iron-wood trees. The guava tree, introduced in the beginning of this century, has overrun not only the islands of Tahiti and Morea, but also the Marquesas and other groups. It has become the bane of the islands, for its growth is so quick, and its propagation so easy, that wherever seed falls the

whitewashed huts as beauties in the landscape and an evidence of civilization; but, in reality, they were a great disfigurement to the scene, uncomfortable, stifling, and altogether unsuitable for the natives. In the present day these European buildings are met with as the residences of the chiefs, but few live in them, preferring their open, bamboo, leaf-thatched habitations, which generally stand with them in the same enclosure. Both in Tahiti and Morea I saw numbers of these whitewashed cottages roofless and tumbling in ruins.

ground is soon covered with young trees. In many retired parts the road was choked up by shoots about two feet high; and two years is enough to convert them into a bearing tree. The fruit, when ripe, is like a mellow apple, the inside being red and pulpy, of an insipid taste, and containing a number of seeds. Thousands of hogs live beneath the trees, and eat the fallen fruit. The seeds being indigestible, are thus conveyed from place to place, and wherever they are deposited, the forcing climate develops them into trees. When they are left undisturbed, which is generally the case, the valleys soon become impassable from their intricate growth. Large tracts of ground, whose broken-down enclosures show that they were formerly under cultivation, are now hidden by them. Their only use is to afford food for swine and wood for burning. Introduced in a spirit of kindness, they have become the curse of the cultivator. Mr. Ellis, in his work, merely mentions the tree by name, as a novelty in the flora of the country; were he again to visit the islands, spots familiar to him and to others would scarcely be recognized, so great a change have they caused in the aspect of the land.

The Tahitians, men and women, are exceedingly clean in their persons, and bathe many times a day in the running waters of their valleys. As the streams are shallow, holes are made in their beds, or the natural holes are made use of. It is all the same to the natives whether the bathing place is in the depth of the guava wood, or in an exposed position by the wayside; in fact, they seem to prefer the latter. A

short distance from Paca two young girls came to bathe in the stream close to the little wooden bridge which I was crossing. They entered the water in their robes of cotton, crouched down, slowly drew off their dress, and then, standing up in the shallow water, commenced splashing it one on the other. I stood on the bridge admiring their dusky limbs, supple motions, and frolicsome manner, and thinking that they and the surrounding scenery formed a picture that Etty would have travelled thousands of miles to copy, when they politely made me a sign to come and join them in their naiad sport. But I contented myself with beholding the picture rather than becoming one of the models.

At a place called Maraa, where the road passes under a dark lava precipice, there is a remarkable cavern or grotto. Its situation is gloomy enough, and may well awaken feelings of superstitious awe in the breast of the native. All around it the overhanging rocks and thick creeping vegetation shut out the rays of the sun; through the stony ground above great drops fall into the black water of the grotto; rills were trickling out on all sides from below, rendering the spot delightfully cool. The grotto itself is interesting from the extraordinary delusion of sight which the spectator experiences. It seems to extend back into the rock about fifty yards, but on hurling a stone with full force, one is surprised to find that instead of striking the end of the vault, it falls into the dark waters at about only one-fifth part of the distance. The real depth of the pool is estimated at about 300 yards. Many attempts have been made to explore it;

but, I was told, the natives could never be persuaded by any hope of reward to launch a canoe on the water; to them it is the habitation of evil spirits, and like most caverns in various parts of the world, it has a string of legends attached to it. I was not informed of this until after my return to Papeete, or I would have found means to measure it, if the atmosphere within the cavern would have permitted me to enter. Further along the coast are similar grottoes.

As I passed through each district I stopped for a short time at its *Purera*, or meeting house. Generally the chants of the inmates guided me to the spot. In the first I entered, young and old, mostly women, were seated in rows on the ground; a few men were placed here and there; Bibles and hymn books were in their laps or by their side; a few of the women were plaiting the bark of the cocoa into hats, and some were smoking cigarettes. The *Orometua*, or native minister, was fast asleep on the bed, and by his side lay an old woman also asleep. My presence interrupted their singing for a few moments, and they employed them in making their remarks on me. The minister had by this time been roused from his nap, and, inviting me to sit down, told his pupils to sing the Hallelujah for my edification. They sang this and some other hymns in a very pleasing manner, in spite of the nasal twang which is peculiar to the voices of the women. Some of the hymns were sung in division, one party taking up the strain as the other ceased. Most of these meetings exhibited the same character, both as to their members and their manner of singing or praying. If there was little devotion among the

company, there was at least no indelicacy of manner. The meeting house was their rendezvous every day, to pass away the time, to chat with one another, to make their straw-plait or their dresses, to hear a chapter or two of the Bible read by the minister, and to practise their hymns. On Sundays the whole district assembles in the meeting house, or in the front of it, and a service is performed similar to that of the Wesleyans and Congregationalists of England. The minister or one of the deacons offers up a prayer, a chapter of the Bible is read, a hymn sung, and a discourse delivered by the minister.

The Protestant Christians of these islands having been from the time of their conversion under the guidance of English missionaries, are now nearly thrown on their own resources to govern their little churches. They are indeed in the position of sheep without a shepherd, and were it not that they have the Bible translated into their mother tongue, a few years might find their Christianity curiously degenerated into a mixture of truth and old superstition. Of all their European teachers but two remain, Mr. Darling in Tahiti, and Mr. Simpson in Eimeo, and they have the entire supervision of the Protestant congregations. Both are now old, and when they pass away from the scene of their long labours, the native Protestants will be left entirely to their own guidance. The last of the other missionaries quitted the Island in 1858. They and the Missionary Society in London considered they could no longer conscientiously continue their work under the French Protectorate.

The reasons which were given me as having caused

their departure were as follows:—By the Act of Protectorate, in 1842, it was expressly stipulated that the English missionaries should not be molested in the exercise of their functions. The reader is aware that in France the ecclesiastical polity is much under the control of the civil power, and that the pastors of all denominations are paid by the State. The Protectorate Government resolved to exercise the same rule in Tahiti, and ordered that the Protestant missionaries should settle each in his district as pastor, and should receive a fixed salary from the State, instead of wandering from district to district, and receiving contributions from the natives as a part of their means of support. They were to be put on just the same footing as the Romish priests. All except two refused to submit to these terms, and left the island for other fields of labour, wherein they could perform their work after their own manner. If the above was their real and only reason for quitting their flocks, I cannot help thinking that as ministers of religion they might have remained for the sake of those whom they had reclaimed from heathenism, and reared and educated to the observance and profession of a purer faith, even though it might have caused them a struggle to submit to the control of a civil power, alien both in race and religion. But considering the race from which they sprung, one cannot be surprised that they came to the determination they did.

In conversations I had with two or three native ministers I was much pleased to hear with what feelings of affection and respect they spoke of their late teachers, and the regret they expressed at having been left by them.

The Government is as tolerant and protective to Protestants as to Catholics, and the priests, with the bishop at their head, are apparently still more so.* They tell the natives that both forms are the same thing; that the object of both is to make men good and happy. They make no open efforts to convert; they visit, take interest in, and even advise the native Protestant minister. And such is the surest means of attaining their end, if that end is the Catholicizing the native Protestants; and, of course, every Protestant reader will believe that it is. But, to judge from the little I saw, and much that I heard of Bishop Jaussens and his vicar, I think they are both good and liberal men, and am sure they are clever ones—if only in this, that they do not make half-civilized men the bewildered arbiters of dogmas which, after all, are totally unnecessary to the practice of pure Christianity.

Attached to each district, and co-operating with the minister, is a schoolmaster for the children; and the school-house generally adjoins that of the chief. Some are Catholic, some Protestant. By the law, every parent is bound to send his children to school until the age of fourteen; neglect of this is punished; and the insubordination of the children, if made a subject of complaint, is referred to the chief or judge, and

* The grant of a plot of land to Mr. Darling, as a reward for his long services (40 years), was hotly opposed by certain Catholics, white and native; but the influence of the Governor, Bishop, priests, and residents, caused the grant to be confirmed. The affair led to a great deal of dispute. In an address to the natives, the Government thus spoke:—"Catholics and Protestants, you are both equal before the law; there is equal protection for you both: treat with contempt all those who try to spread discord among you." March, 1859.

punished by him. Rewards are given by the Government to both schoolmasters and pupils as a stimulus. Every year, after the inspection, sums varying from 50fr. to 300fr. are presented to those teachers who show the best order in their establishments, and greatest progress in their pupils. They are also required to give the names of their best pupils, to the number of four, who are publicly rewarded in presence of the whole district.

The big, unclouded sun sinking in the ocean was pouring its rays through the orange and citron trees as I rode up the avenue of the district of Papara. The residence of the lady chief where I was received was a coral and wood building, half European, half native, delightfully cool, and furnished with good beds, &c. &c. While they were cooking me a fowl and some bread-fruit, I went out to bathe in the beautiful stream which entered the sea close by. A group of young natives were plunging about in the water, but on my approach they were out in an instant, and dressed.

The only garments worn by the Tahitian men is a fold of print wrapped round them from the waist downwards, like a petticoat; and over this a European shirt, hanging loosely round them, in the same manner as with the Tajals of Manilla. Wishing to see the diving of the natives, I threw a few coins into the deepest part of the river, when not only the children who had been bathing before, but, to my surprise, half the adult bystanders, threw off their garments, and joined in the hunt. It is no wonder that the natives of all ages are continually washing themselves, sitting, reclining, or rolling about in the

streams; it is the greatest luxury, also, that a European can indulge in, and I shall never forget the pleasure with which each morning as I rose, once during the heat of the day, and again at the end of the journey, I sought out some retired and deep pool of water, and rolled about in the cool element.

At Papara was a small post of French soldiers, and on my return to the chief's house I found the corporal in command had brought some bread and a bottle of wine, which he begged me to accept, as he had heard that I had brought none with me. In fact bread was scarcely needed where "itself is gathered as a fruit," and bottles were too cumbersome. My whole stock consisted only of a small flask of brandy, in case of accidents, and that returned with me nearly as full as when I started. Nevertheless, the delicate attention of the corporal not only pleased me, but his bread and wine were no bad addition to the Tahitian-cooked fowl and bread-fruit. I afterwards went over to the corporal's hut, and found him to be one of those intelligent, well-educated, and enthusiastic young fellows of whom so many are to be found in the ranks of the French army. As he had been long in the island, and had mixed much among the people, his remarks were not unworthy of attention. The only occasion, he said, when the natives gave any trouble, or when he was required to assist the Mutois, was during the season of oranges; the people then fermented the juice into a sort of wine, and, drinking largely of it as long as it remained good, were very apt to become uproarious and practise old abominations. Indeed, I afterwards saw the lists of condemnations for drunkenness, in which was a

long array of names for every district. The punishments were fines of from 20fr. to 40fr., or labour for the same number of days for males, and the making of from ten to twenty fathoms of pia for females.

To the honour of the French rulers, the traffic in spirits is strictly prohibited to the natives; no dealer is allowed to supply them without a permit from a French official, and the secret sale is punished by a very heavy fine. Many small craft visit the secluded bays during the orange season, to take in the fruit for St. Francisco and South America; but before permission is given for this, the captain must deliver up all his spirits at Papeete, or take a Government officer on board to see that no illicit traffic is carried on. Were these prohibitions not strictly put in force, I believe the natives would kill themselves quite out by intoxication in two or three generations, so fond are they of strong drink.

In no part of the world are the nights so soothing and refreshing, the land and sea so beautiful, and the vault of heaven so glorious, as in these South Sea Islands. At least, so I thought that evening, as I lay on a mat spread on the soft grass by the seaside, and watched the glowing firmament, one mass of sidereal light from the southern horizon, to Orion, north of my zenith. In the midst of this light was the Cross of the south, and by its side that dark and starless patch, black in the midst of surrounding light, which is one of the most curious phenomena of the southern chart of the heavens. I had often spent hours while traversing the ocean in watching these superb constellations, but

never did I see them in greater brilliancy or in greater beauty than on that evening.

The next morning, after a breakfast of fowl, bread-fruit, bananas fried in oil, and other fruits of the country, I rode forth again. The aspect of the country continued much the same, except that the valleys became more marshy, and here and there the mountains extended to within a few fathoms of the shore, terminating in dark, broken precipices of lava. At Mairipehe was a small, but neat Catholic chapel, built of wood, a school-house, and the residence of the Rev. Père Colette. Some distance farther on a Portuguese called me to his house, as I was riding by, and introduced me to his native spouse, his cattle, and his plantations. What was most attractive there, were several plots of vanilla, a plant lately introduced, and whose culture seems likely to lead to a small, but very profitable commerce. The Government published directions for its cultivation, and offered to supply the natives with the means of beginning their plots; but as it requires excessive care and constant watching for years, I am afraid they are too impatient and unsteady to do any good with it. Several European colonists, however, had already met with success, and realized a good price for their produce in Valparaiso.*

* The cultivation of vanilla is curious. It is planted by slips which must, to be fruitful, have three buds, two to be buried, and one left in contact with the air. It requires a humid soil, and much shade, and to be trained on a low trellis of wood. After eighteen months it begins to flower, the flowers being white and in bunches. To fructify these requires the hand of man, and a delicate touch must unite the pistil and stamen of the flower, for without this operation, the ovarium withers away. Soon after this, the fruit pod begins to develope itself, but takes still twelve or fifteen months to acquire its

I stopped for a few hours to rest my horse at a native hut in one of the most lonely parts of the district of Papeuriri. Through this district flows the river which issues from the celebrated mountain lake of Vaihiria, situated six miles up the valley at an elevation of 432 French metres above the sea level. Most of the way up to it was now practicable for a horse, since Pomare had lately made two or three excursions thither. Where the path becomes too steep, the horses must be picketed, and the fatiguing ascent made on foot. In going up the valley, the stream has to be crossed no less than sixty-seven times. The tourist with plenty of time generally takes one day for the ascent, sleeps in the mountains, and descends the next day; but from the mouth of the valley the journey may be accomplished between sunrise and sunset. The path is delightfully shaded by guavas, orange, tamanu, and purao trees, and a variety of magnificent ferns and creepers afford amusement to the lovers of botany. For the night a hut is soon constructed by the natives, with branches of purao and leaves; substantial food must be brought by the traveller, but abundance of wild fruits, such as fei, cocoa-nuts, &c. &c., are to be gathered on the way: and when night sets in, bamboos filled with cocoa-nut oil, or flaming torches, light up a scene of wildness and grandeur. The lake has nothing interesting in itself: there is no animal

full size and maturity. When quite brown and wrinkled, the bunch begins to exhale that delicious perfume which is peculiar to vanilla. According to its size and aroma it fetches a high or medium price; as much as fifteen dollars per pound being given at Valparaiso for the best quality.

life, with the exception of a few wild ducks. Several of the Russian officers made an excursion thither, whilst I was making the tour of the island.*

On the seashore, near to the valley of the lake, are two phenomena worthy of mention; one is a cavern or grotto, filled with water, deeply penetrating into the precipice; the other, a spring of crystal water, spouting up about a foot in height from the ground. The inhabitants affirm that this is one of the outlets of the lake, and that the water comes through a natural tube in the rocks from a vortex in its depths. Cocoa-nuts, they say, thrown into the lake, have been known to come out in the gush of waters below. If this be really so, the tube must be very leaky, for the spout of the fountain is very small, when the pressure, caused by the difference of level, is taken into consideration.†

It was already late as I rode forth from Papeuriri, with the intention of proceeding as far as the French port, on the Isthmus of Taravoa. But after riding a couple of miles, I suddenly, in the midst of a wood, came upon the French bishop and Père Colette returning from their inspection, who dissuaded me from making the attempt. The bishop invited me to return

* Near the lake, however, are the remains of a native fort, one of those wide fortresses in which the vanquished formerly took refuge, after the battles fought in the plains.

† Near the Teutobürger Wald, in the Principality of Pyrmont, in Germany, I visited four years ago several water ponds, or earth-slips filled with water, of great depth. The people related that similar subterraneous passages extended from the bottom, and that objects thrown in had been known to come out in a small stream near Paderborn, in Westphalia, the distance between being more than thirty miles.

with him, which I would willingly have done but that my time for the journey was limited. As I did not accept his invitation, he recommended me to pass the night at Papoari, and wrote a few lines in pencil to the native minister of that place, which, he said, would insure me unbounded attention. "It's all the same that he's a Protestant," broke in Père Colette; "it's the same thing here, you know, Catholic or Protestant." A white man happening to pass during our conversation, the bishop requested him to conduct me to the house of the minister; so bidding his Eminence good-bye, I accompanied my bare-footed guide, who, to judge from the tools he carried, was a carpenter or shipwright.

Roapohe, the minister of Papoari, a fine-looking native, upwards of six feet in height,* and stout in proportion, received me with outstretched hands at the gate of his enclosure, and set his whole family (wife and seven children) in motion to perform various behests for my service. A few women of his flock were already squatted down on the grass before his door, and my arrival soon brought many more to the spot. While supper was preparing they intoned several hymns for my edification; at sunset they all went off to their respective homes.

I asked the American (for such I found him to be)

* The men of Tahiti, especially the chiefs, are very superior to the men of the Sandwich Islands, both in size and bearing. The women, on the other hand, are much alike. Both sexes are the same cheerful, good-natured, always smiling, false, fickle, and inconstant people as in the other islands; and more confidence must be put in the effects of their pride or their cupidity, than in their affection or their promises.

to stay and spend the evening with me, and we ate together our Tahitian supper—an oven-baked fowl, bread-fruit, and cocoa-nut poi, sweet potatoes and feis (wild hawanas). A sop of sea-water was the only condiment; the natives use it instead of salt. The pastor's utensils consisted only of a cracked European dish, a knife, and a fork with one prong still left; but he had plenty of well-polished clean cocoa-nut shells, and a primitive use of fingers made up for many deficiencies. We made some tea in a cocoa-nut shell, and drank it out of another. During supper, in which our host would not join, the wife and children chanted some native songs in a low and soft strain.

My companion, a man far in the decline of life, rather from a wasteful expenditure of it than from actual age, was one of those discivilized wanderers of whom so many are to be found in the islands of the Pacific. His declining years seemed to be filled with a gnawing regret for a youth recklessly, and perhaps criminally, spent. He had received a good homely education, had abandoned his quiet home, and had since been a wanderer and an outcast. He was now unfit, he said, to return to the haunts of his fellows; his lot was cast with the natives, to whom, though he spoke their language and lived as they, he was still a stranger. He had had several wives and many children in the islands where his life had been spent, but they had all died one after the other, by pestilence, disease, or accident. He was now all alone, and had to labour for the natives in building boats and other work which they could not do themselves,

to earn the means of dragging on his miserable existence.

At eight o'clock my host intimated that they were about to perform their evening devotion. With a clear and well-accentuated voice he read aloud a portion of Scripture, and afterwards, the whole party kneeling down, he offered up an extempore prayer for the space of about ten minutes in a solemn and impressive manner. I was never so gratified by any little family scene before, the more so when assured that it was not because a stranger was present, but that in most huts family prayer opened and closed the occupation of each day.

After prayers, the family sat down to supper. The mother and children formed two rows on the grass-covered floor; the father sitting at the head, and two or three greedy and ugly curs thrusting in their heads between. Their food consisted of the remains of my supper with a large supply of fresh feis; the whole served in gourds and eaten out of thin, transparent, and nicely polished cocoa-shells. The minister said a long grace; gave to wife and children a chicken bone, and a bowl full of feis; the dogs received also their portion, and after a few moments of vigorous application of fingers and muzzles, the whole party, human and canine, finished about the same time.

There was only one bedstead, or something that resembled one, in the hut, and this was given up to me. It was covered with mats and had a clean coverlet of calico. When I lay down, the whole party began to sing with low plaintive voices the evening hymn (or something like it), hallelujah and other

hymns to soothe me to sleep; but sleep-giving as the effect might otherwise have been, the counter irritation was too great; for presently I was so assailed by a legion of animals from below, and by buzzing mosquitoes above, that I tumbled and tossed for many a weary hour, and was at last fairly driven out. Looking around me by the dim light of the cocoa-nut lamp, the interior of a Tahitian hut presented a curious aspect. Father, mother, children, half naked, or rolled in their tapas, were lying in all directions and in all positions on the dry grass that strewed the floor of their hut. All were sound asleep, and the elders continuing their music, only in another and less agreeable key.

On the morrow by sunrise I was again in the saddle. The distance from Papoari to the Fort at Taravoa was only five miles, yet I thanked my happy meeting with the bishop, which prevented my attempting it the night before. The road followed the direction of the indentation of the sea called Port Phaeton, leading to the isthmus, over abrupt hills and down through the darkest and deepest dells. The bared lava rock which formed the road over the hills was so greasy from the dew, and so steep that it was only just possible for the horse to mount it, and he had several falls in doing so. In the dells there was hardly any road at all, so overgrown was the land with guava shoots; but the trenches on either side, into which we floundered occasionally on the least deviation, were still a sufficient guide. But the deep and miry-margined streams at the bottom of each dell were the worst obstacles. There were, indeed, bridges of a

few logs thrown over them, but many of them were missing or broken; the alternatives were generally three or four feet of mud, or a single rounded log. At last I was brought to a standstill. My horse, in crossing one of these bridges, broke one of the logs beneath him and fell, badly grazing the inside of the leg. He could neither get up, nor fall through, but hung with his shoulders on the logs above the remains of the bridge, and his hind quarters in the water. He was, moreover, much hurt; his eyes became glassy, and I thought the poor beast would die. Nothing was left for me but to jump up to my neck in the mud and water and demolish the bridge, when the animal fell helplessly backwards. After taking the saddle off him, I was compelled to stand nearly two hours in the water, supporting his head till he recovered sufficiently to move, and it was an hour more before I got him safe on dry ground. For the rest of the way I mended the bridges myself before crossing. The chief of that district did not certainly attend to the duty of keeping his roads in order. About eleven o'clock I arrived at the fort in the middle of the isthmus, and found its commander sitting on a bench among his men, chatting with them in that familiar manner which Frenchmen seem to know how to adopt, without the conversation degenerating into too much freedom on the one hand, or disrespect on the other. My appearance must have surprised him, as there was certainly no mistake as to where my last quarters had been; but on reading my letter, he warmly welcomed me; his men set about doctoring my horse, and himself took charge of me.

The fort is a coral building, mounting a few small cannon sufficient for the purpose of awing the natives. There is besides the residence of the commandant, a building for official purposes, and quarters for fifty men and for prisoners. It forms now in times of peace a little penal settlement, where the breakers of the law undergo their period of labour. Among the number of these at the time of my visit were several New Caledonians, prisoners of war. A good military road of grass-covered coral runs across the isthmus from Port Phaeton to the eastern side. On either side of this elevated road the land is all morass, in which, a short time ago, a French naval officer lost his life, while out shooting. All around, both on the peninsula and the main island, are numbers of unmarked and wild cattle, asses, and swine, nominally the property of the Government, but which are hunted by the natives, who receive a premium on their captures.

My hospitable young host insisted on my remaining with him two days, declaring that the rain, which fell in torrents after my arrival, would so swell the rivers on the eastern side as to render them unfordable. I took him at his word, the more readily because he was an agreeable fellow, well acquainted with the natives, and a thorough Breton.

During our breakfast on the second morning the chief mutoi of the peninsula arrived with a report from the native judges of the condemnations during their little assize, and the list of prisoners who were to be sent to the fort to suffer their penalty. Among others were a naughty pair, sentenced to a fine of

200 francs or three months' labour, for a violation of the marriage tie. On inquiring of the mutoi into the particulars, I found it was only a common instance of its kind—a husband cognizant of his wife's infidelity for a length of time, but living on terms of friendship and in conjugal communism with the other man, until they unfortunately quarrelled, when the husband denounced the friend. The crime was not hard to prove, and the unhappy pair were sentenced. But the husband, though he wanted to revenge himself on his former friend, did not at all wish his wife to be included in the punishment. It seemed, also, that there was a child, whose paternity the two men disputed, and the learned judge decided that as the prisoner had been declared guilty of the crime, he ought to have the fruits of it, which, though bad law, was tolerably good logic. The prisoner also wrote to the commandant of the fort, to state that he was going to Papeete to try and get the money, and that if unsuccessful he should return to the fort and undergo his term of punishment. The commandant informed me that this case might be taken as an example of all that came under his observation—complicity, a quarrel, and denunciation.

But in this the people are not worse than they formerly were; and the penal laws against adultery certainly have the good effect of preventing married women from prostituting themselves to the first comer. There is seldom a case where the husband is not privy to his *dishonour*. Formerly, by the missionary law, persons separated for this crime were

not allowed to marry again while either was alive, a piece of legislation which nearly made the marriage ceremony a dead letter. The law of 1858 repealed all former ones, and declared that all divorces pronounced by the Court of Toohitus rendered both parties free to contract a new marriage, the man immediately, the woman after the lapse of ten months.

The commandant of the fort, on my leaving him, ordered one of his mutois to accompany me on the way, as far as a river which he thought had become unfordable. As the man was on foot I soon left him behind, and on coming up to the river tried to ford it alone, by making a curve seawards at its mouth, where the water is generally more shallow; but a woman with a child in her arms came at that moment out of a hut and called me back. Laying her baby on the bank, she swam over, holding my horse by the reins, and I swam behind him, holding on to his tail, when the water took him off his legs. My guide, who had borrowed a horse of a friend, came riding up just as I arrived on the opposite side.

The windward side of Tahiti is much wilder than the western side. The path was here through magnificent gorges, and over mountains precipitously facing the sea, up which a zigzag road had been made. In many parts it was only a few feet wide, with the wall-like mountain on the left side, and twelve to fifteen hundred feet of perpendicular cliff on the other. The ground was also so slippery from the rain that it was dangerous to pass it on horse-

back. A number of birds, large as a rook, but of snow-white plumage, with long black beaks and legs, hovered round my head, and made a pounce now and then at my horse and myself. Two or three I knocked down, but they fluttered over the edge of the cliff into the sea beneath. Looking from some of these heights, it was most interesting to mark the girdle of coral, which seems to be slowly growing up. Lines in the blue ocean were white with their reflection. Deep soundings are everywhere marked on the charts at the spots where I saw them; even in the French survey map lately made no notice is taken of them, though the approximate limits of the reefs not yet raised in other parts are there distinctly marked. I noticed them chiefly on rounding the eastern point of the island.

Fewer guava, orange, and citron trees are to be seen on this side; but the magnificent tamanu (*Calophyllum inophyllum*), the purao or hibiscus, and the pandanus were growing in full perfection. The population is also much more sparse till the north-eastern side is reached.

I spent the night at the house of the chief of Tiarei, who was absent; but the minister, his deputy, entertained me very hospitably. The evening was spent pleasantly enough, as my host spoke a few words of English, which, mixed up with a few Tahitian words, formed our medium of conversation.

The next day there was a similar crossing of steep mountains, the last of which, One-tree Hill, looks down on the pretty and well-known Bay of Matavai, in which Wallis, Cook, Bourgainville, and other cele-

brated navigators of the last century, anchored their ships, and beheld for the first time those curious scenes, the descriptions of which are so familiar to every ardent schoolboy. On descending the hill, I rode up the avenue which leads to Point Venus, and lingered long about the spot which, from the recollections it awakens, has become the pilgrimage of every mariner or traveller who visits the island.

In the neighbourhood of Matavai Bay, I entered a native hut to rest, after asking permission of the inmates. The inhabitants are generally pleased to receive strangers who are travelling about, as much from the pleasant excitement their visits cause, as for the profit they expect to get from them. This dwelling, one of the better sort, and standing in a neat enclosure, was the residence of three married, but childless couples. The three young wives whose husbands were absent at the house of the chief, were lounging on the ground, lazily occupied in making straw plait, as I entered. They were tolerably good-looking, dressed in loose robes of muslin, and wore wreaths of flowers entwined in their black tresses. One took my horse, another went to make ready some food, while the third took me into the hut, and spread mats and herb-stuffed pillows for me to rest on. The arrangement of the interior would give a stranger a pretty just idea of how the natives herd together. The three nuptial couches of the three pairs were in three corners; by the side of each was the family trunk containing the dress of the husband, and the finery of the wife, which latter the three women took

great trouble in spreading out before me. They seemed to have as many dresses and imitation trinkets as a fashionable beauty, while the poor husbands seemed to have very few shirts, and those in a ragged condition. I could only surmise whether all this finery was derived from the liberality of their husbands, from their own industry in making plait or pia, or from the economy of their *maiden* days; and I was forced to conclude the latter was the case, from the conversation of these young ladies. They made use of many English words, the only ones they knew, which showed that the European society they had kept had left a blight upon them, for they were such as are only heard from the mouths of dissolute seamen, but which these women, conscious or not of their meaning, uttered with the pertinacity of parrots. Another circumstance did not heighten my opinion of either their past or their present virtue. On taking the saddle off my horse, they had seen a travelling flask hanging to it, and were most desirous to drink off the contents. But as I did not allow this, they probably, judging from experience, thought I set a price on the gift, and thereupon offered me straw hats, pieces of tapa, and lastly, by unmistakeable signs, themselves, if I would only give them the brandy. They no doubt thought very badly of me for refusing, for they showed their vexation by frowns at me, and most voluble chattering among themselves; but their eagerness only proved to me the iniquity of foreigners secretly supplying the natives with the means of intoxication, when they will make such deplorable sacrifices to possess it.

In the evening I rode on to Papeete, passing through the district of Papaoa, of which in former times Pomare was only the chief. The tour round the island had taken six days, the distance being about 120 English miles.

CHAPTER XX.

Island of Moria or Eimeo—Desertions—The King, Minister, and Admiral on Board—Their Distinguished Qualities—Bay of Opunopu—Falling away of Population and Industry—District of Papetoai—An Old Missionary—Voyage Southward—Winds of high Southern Latitudes—Mercy Bay—Shipwrecks—Magellan Straits—Bay of Pleya Parda—Chilian Settlement at Punta Arena, or Sandy Point—Climate—Patagonians—Aspect of Shores in Strait—Pampas—Gregory Bay—Possession Bay—Current of S. Atlantic Ocean—A Pampero.

On the 23rd February, we steamed over to the neighbouring island of Eimeo, and anchored in the deep and lovely bay of Opunopu, in the district of Papetoai; for three of our sailors, seduced by the native women, and by the charms of Tahitian life, had deserted. This was the first instance during the voyage, of pure Russians deserting. In California, where crimps and Jews speaking Russian abounded, we only lost one man, and that a Pole, for there is great love of home in the Russian peasant, and in his ignorance, the charms of his village far surpass for him all he sees in his travels. When we returned after a few days to Papeete, two of the men had already been found in the woods, where they were living comfortably, with what nature there affords.

During this little trip we had the King Consort on board. A matrimonial discussion, ending in a warm display of feminine superiority, was the cause of his

taking this little voyage, to allow the anger of his royal spouse to cool. The king was formerly the handsomest man in the islands, but is now fat and heavy, like all his race in advancing years. He was accompanied by two other natives, one called his minister, and the other an admiral. They all distinguished themselves on board, in two ways; by vigorously shaking hands with everybody many times during the day, and by clearing the table of all eatables each time they sat down to any meal. None of them knew a word of either French or English. The most unfortunate part of their visit was, that their departure from the ship cost us a man. A parting salute being given for the king, one of the gunners had both his arms blown off, and his life was with difficulty saved.

This Bay of Opunopu is one of the most fairy places which I saw during the whole voyage. The shores are of the same character as I have described for Tahiti, being covered with guavas, oranges, and citrons; but the mountains around, and especially those at the head of the bay, have such fantastic shapes, that on a moonlight night the effect is magical. Every evening during our stay we passed the hours on shore beneath the mountains, supping there, and making a sort of *fête* for the natives, who come from all the villages around, and amuse themselves in singing, dancing, and admiring the fireworks we displayed from time to time for their entertainment. The population of this island has become miserably thinned during the last half century. Before it was estimated to contain about 2,000 persons; now there are little more than 800.

Industry has likewise fallen away; all the low land bordering the bay once contained extensive enclosures of sugar-cane, and one mill had been set up in the neighbourhood; but the trial was unprofitable, the expense of hiring natives, who did nothing, far exceeding all the profits.

On the western extremity of the entrance of the bay is the village of Papetoai, celebrated as the first spot where Christianity was established, for the particulars of which the reader may refer to Mr. Ellis' *Polynesian Researches*. The large coral chapel built at the time is still standing by the water's side, but the population which should have filled its extensive space has dwindled away to a miserable remnant who still come to sing and pray. Near the chapel is the residence of Mr. Simpson, a veteran missionary of the year 1828. When I called upon him, he was in Tahiti, but his wife, in her simple manner, entertained me, and gave me much information about the people. When her husband returned, accompanied by his son-in-law, Captain Vallis, of the French army, I had the pleasure of making his acquaintance; Mr. Vallis I had already known in Tahiti.

On the 26th we steamed out of the bay, and the whole day was spent between the islands, waiting for the gunboat, which had taken back the King, and was to bring on the deserters. When together again, we hauled up the yards for our southern voyage.

We kept the trade wind only to 25° S., and then experienced much unsettled weather, till we met the westerly winds, which sent us flying through that part of the Pacific called the "desolate region," from the

few birds ever seen there. If the reader would judge of the force of these winds, and of the sea they drive before them, let him look at a map, and remark the shattered south-west coast of South America, and compare it with the unbroken shores of lands lying between the tropics, where few bays of any depth are found. Steam can never compete with wind for ships sailing in these high latitudes from west to east. Two examples will show the speed with which sailing vessels fly before these almost perennial winds: the *Sovereign of the Seas* in 1853 made good 5,391 knots (6,245 English miles) in twenty-two days; for eleven of these she averaged 354 miles daily; for four days, 399 miles; for one day, 419 miles; and in one hour her speed was twenty-one statute miles, or as fast as an ordinary railway train. Another vessel, also sailing east, and so lessening her longitude, made 402 knots, or 465$\frac{5}{10}$ statute miles, in twenty-four hours, being 19$\frac{3}{8}$ miles per hour.*

I shall never forget the grandeur of the scene, as, driving before this wind, with no canvas except half the fore-stay-sail, at the rate of eight knots, we approached Desolation land, at the south entrance of the Straits of Magellan. Not an indentation could be seen on that dreary coast through the blue haze which shrouded it; and to a stranger, unaware of his position, it would have seemed that the vessel and himself were rushing on to destruction; but when within 500 fathoms of the shore, we pitched on the huge waves over the belt of kelp which encircles the whole coast around Cape Horn, and in a few minutes more were

* Lieut. MAURY'S *Sailing Directions.*

in comparatively quiet water. Here we cast anchor in the bay called Mercy.

This bay is marked in all books as a safe anchorage, but the first object which met our view was a stranded ship in a cleft of the rocks at the head of the bay. On visiting it, she proved to be the *Seine;* part of her cargo had been recovered; traces of the shipwrecked crew were visible, in the fresh cutting of the stunted shrubs for firewood, in the bones scattered about their camping place, and in a quantity of shells, from which the fish had been taken. Through the cleft of the rock where she was fixed issued a stream, and a few fathoms beyond was a small mountain lake. The mountains around were covered with a mossy verdure; in the indentations were a few fir-like shrubs; snow had already fallen, and filled the higher cavities; while not a living creature, except a small, silent bird, broke the monotony of the scene.

I afterwards heard that the wreck of this ship was the third of a series of disasters. An English ship was first wrecked in the Straits; a steamer was despatched from Valparaiso to remove the cargo, but she struck on a rock, and sank almost immediately; the *Seine* was then sent for the same purpose, but she dragged her anchors in Mercy Bay, and went on shore where we found her.

Mercy Bay is, indeed, better than no shelter at all, but it is far from being safe. Two rocks, off Cape Pillar, protect it from winds to the westward of north-west; but should a gale of wind come from the northward of this, such a sea would be thrown up that few cables could withstand it.

We remained for two days, during north-westerly winds; but on the fourth night of our stay the strong south-west squalls, coming through a break in the mountains, caused the gunboat to drag her anchors and run foul of another ship; when clear, she put out to sea, and the next morning we followed her, proceeding through the Straits.

The second night from this we came to the Bay of Pleya Parda, and moored in a dock-like cove, with cables to the trees. Here we remained four days. The country about was little more hospitable than our last stopping-place. The hills are of slaty formation, with white quartz cropping out in all directions. A cascade of some 200 feet in height falls into the cove. Trees, called the Patagonian beech, birch, a few stunted firs, and a shrub resembling box, of yellow, hard wood, were, with moss, and a low, berry-bearing plant, the only vegetation; a few small land birds, and numbers of ducks, the only living creatures.

On the 6th of April we were at anchor at Punta Arena, or Sandy Point, where is a Chilian settlement, consisting of about twelve houses, fifty ragamuffin soldiers, and a few civilians. A few miles to the eastward is the boundary between Chili and Buenos Ayres, which two states have nominally taken possession of the whole of Patagonia and its wandering inhabitants. The Chilian post is to establish the boundary. Six years ago this post was at Port Famine, more to the westward, which was also a penal settlement; but the convicts rose on their guardians, massacred the governor and soldiers, seized an American vessel, and returned to Chili or Peru, where they could mix again

with their countrymen, without fear of detection by the indolent authorities. After this event the settlement was removed to its present site—the most healthy, the Governor told me, of all in the Straits.

This Governor was a Dane, a man fond of science and study. His lonely and perilous life was rendered bearable by a good library. He had made a small collection of the interesting things of the country, and possessed also a few live guanacoes in an enclosure near his house. The following statistics of climate he gave me, from observations during three years:—

Mean temperature of year + 8°, Celsius' thermometer.
Greatest heat in summer + 20°, do.
Greatest cold in winter — 8°.
Mean temperature in winter — 4°.

The settlement is visited several times annually by tribes of Patagonians, who bring in their horses, guanaco, skunk, and ostrich skins to exchange for woollens, sugar and arms. These skins can be obtained of the settlers by passing travellers by barter; spirits, sugar, and shoes, powder and shot, being preferred. Money is not cared for, and rum is forbidden by the Governor. There were two or three Patagonians present during our visit; they were men who were refugees from their tribe, of middle stature, and clothed in the skin of the guanaco.

Eastward of Sandy Point, the shores of the Straits totally change their appearance. At the western end there is precipitous, broken mountain scenery, with little life, animal or vegetable. Here on the contrary begin the Pampas, one unbroken plain covered with

tall grass, extending hundreds of miles north in the American continent, and filled with animals. Moreover, at the western end, the water is deep up to the very shore; here sandbanks extend in all directions. The opposite shores of Terra del Fuego match the shores of the Continent in the same manner as the coasts of England do those of France and Holland.

We left Sandy Point on the 9th. During the day, in the Narrows, we perceived a herd of guanacos bounding through the high grass. A troop of mounted Patagonians also followed us for miles along the shore, one of them waving a small flag at the end of a pole. Knowing that several disasters had lately taken place in the neighbourhood, the Commander sent a boat to communicate with them, but with no satisfactory result. We anchored the first night in Gregory Bay, the second in Possession Bay. From the latter we were soon borne out to the Atlantic Ocean with a fresh north-west breeze.

When in lat. 42° and long. 52½° W., we experienced one of those heavy gales of wind peculiar to this part of the ocean. The rapid, warm current which flows down from the equatorial regions parallel to the coast of South America, set us in two days more than seventy miles to the south-west. The temperature of the water was well observed; for several days it exceeded that of the atmosphere by 6° Reaumur.

Finding that the clipper *Plastron*, owing to some former injury, was unable to continue her voyage without going into dock, the Commodore determined to proceed to Monte Video. After the storm above-

mentioned, we had beautiful weather, until we reached the mouth of the Rio de la Plata, where we had an example of the phenomenon of the country — the Pampero, or south-west gale, which lasted about nine hours. This was followed by that remarkably pure sky and clear atmosphere which is also peculiar to this part of the South American coast.

CHAPTER XXI.

Monte Video—Town—Ladies—Society—Education in Buenos Ayres and Monte Video—City of Buenos Ayres—Rivalled by Monte Video—Aspect of City—Rides in the Vicinity—The Saladeras and Mataderas—Destruction of Horses—Commerce of Hides, &c.—Election of President—Markets—The Gaucho—Population—Foreigners—Climate—Viente Norte—The Pampero—Mortality of Children—Diseases—Progress of Provinces during Peace.

On Sunday the 22nd April, we anchored in the Bay of Monte Video, and found there English, French, American and Brazilian squadrons, with single ships of other maritime powers.

Santo Felipe, Monte Video, is a pretty town situated on a small cape, and washed by the river on three sides. One or two batteries, and a large custom-house, are the chief objects seen from the harbour. On the other side of the Bay is the Island of De la Liberdad, on which is the Quarantine, and beyond that the conical hill, Monte Video, whence the city derives its name. Its streets are built at right angles, and the houses seldom more than one story high, with terraces at the top, on which water (a scarcity) is collected for domestic purposes. The larger houses have little turrets, or pleasure-rooms on these terraces, from which a fine panoramic view may be obtained of the city and shipping in the bay. In the Plaza is the Cathedral; plain outside, but richly decorated in the interior; besides

this there are four other churches in the city. There is also an opera, and another smaller theatre for Spanish plays and masquerade balls. The market is well supplied, and offers a curious picture to the voyager as he watches the country people bringing in their produce, and the city dames making their purchases, mass-book in hand, having just said their prayers.

The streets are badly paved, and have narrow walks on either side, so narrow indeed that the wide spreading crinolines of the ladies of Monte Video are quite out of proportion to them. It is, of course, the custom to give the lady the wall, so that the men are continually hopping on and off the pavement, and the rencounter of two ladies leads to extraordinary efforts to pass each other. One day a Russian officer, struck by the beauty of an approaching señorita, stood still in the middle of the pavement, and constrained the ladies to go outside, for which he was greeted by such a scowl, and the exclamation of "*Que indecente!*" which, however, he did not understand.

In the evening at dusk it is the time for the ladies of Monte Video to come abroad. They may then be seen in every costume, mantilla, round hat, or French bonnet, entering the shops, turning over the goods, laughing, chattering, coquetting, but doing everything very prettily. Then the evening bell calls them to vespers, and they disappear. A Prussian who visited this country a few years ago, says, "The early mass is attended mostly by old women, who cannot sleep; the evening mass by young ones, who there meet their friends (female), and above all their friend, and have

nice little kneeling rendezvous." But the best way to judge from outward appearance, is to attend the mid-day mass on Sundays in the Cathedral. The nave is then like a parterre of flowers of many colours, but perfect equality among them all, between the negress with a bandana round her head, and her aristocratic sister in mantilla, wide-awake, or *chapeau de Paris*. The aisles are filled with dandies in primrose gloves, honest artisans, and gentlemen of colour, all apparently there with the same object in view. I never saw anywhere a finer display of black eyes, well-booted little feet, and tiny well-gloved hands, than in the Cathedrals of Buenos Ayres and Monte Video. If those eyes were not for ever bent on the brass-clasped mass-books, but now and then flashed their glances right and left, it was but a token of recognition, asked for beforehand, and did not of course interfere with devotional feeling. One custom I remarked that I had never before seen in any churches. Between the prayers all the ladies in the nave sat down on the carpeted floor, like the Japanese. When the little bell tingled all were alert on their knees in a moment. On leaving the church the porticoes are generally filled with dandies, and the ladies pass out in the avenue formed by them before the door. Each awaits a look, a smile, a token from her who occupies his sensitive heart, and, this received, he lights a cigar and strolls away happy.

So may a passing stranger catch a glimpse of the Argentine ladies; if he resides in either city for any length of time it will be his own fault if he do not become better acquainted with the society of which they form part; for the natives are most hospitable

and open-hearted towards strangers, and in that respect form a most pleasing contrast to their neighbours the Brazilians, between whom and the Monte Videans and Argentines no good feeling exists, as I before said. The ladies of both Monte Video and Buenos Ayres have been much extolled for their beauty. Some few I saw certainly deserved to be so, for regularity of feature, colour, expression, &c., as well as for good figure, as far as one could distinguish it from the mass of artifice which surrounded it. But in general they charm more by their vivacity, their natural coquetry, their amiability, and the contrast altogether between them and the etiquetted ladies of Europe. Although, compared with European ladies, their education is neglected, and their freedom in society is such as would excite the horror of prim old governesses, yet most of them are able to speak either English or French, have a smattering of music, dance admirably, and their freedom is but the result of hopeful and joyous feelings, natural to their age and sex, far more natural, indeed, than the demure, well-schooled hypocrisy prescribed by etiquette in some other more advanced societies. As wives and mothers they are both virtuous and affectionate, and hundreds of foreigners of different nations marry ladies of the country, and form happy households.

During the month of our remaining at anchor before Monte Video, almost every evening was spent at some "tertulia," or in one or another of the families whose acquaintance we had made. Music, dancing, laughing games, *tête-à-têtes* in which the conversation chiefly ran on the *corazon*, *i. e.* the heart, were the chief

amusements. On two or three occasions we had a whole troup of the young fair sex on board, under the conduct of some mamma, who acted as dueña-general for the occasion. The effect of this life was shown on our departure in sighs, dreaming, and solitary reveries among the officers, till a stiff gale of wind, twenty-four hours after we put to sea, fortunately blew the tender ideas out of their minds. Their remembrance, however, of Monte Video will last, for, of all places visited during a long voyage, it was the one where they were the most hospitably and cordially received.

The general education of the people has made great progress during the last few years. Those to whose lot it fell to govern were soon made aware that republican institutions can never prosper amid an ignorant folk. The Porteños, as the burghers of Buenos Ayres are called, as well as the upper classes in Monte Video, are generally well educated, and speak one or two European languages. Many parents, too, send their children to the United States or to England for instruction. In Buenos Ayres there is a university, in which, by the last reports, were 445 students of the liberal arts or sciences. A public library seems well attended, as also a museum of natural curiosities. The system of national education for Buenos Ayres consists of thirteen schools in the town, with 981 girls and 1,767 boys; in the campaña, of thirty-eight schools, with 681 girls and 2,050 boys, giving a total of 5,479. A similar system of public free education is carried out in Monte Video. There are also schools for the foreign population, wherein are 345 pupils—

214 boys and 345 girls.* In the widely dispersed districts of the campaña, education is with difficulty attainable, and the Gaucho grows up like the cattle he tends. To ride the wildest horse, to throw the lasso and the bolas with the most unerring aim, and to understand the topography of the pampas, form his ambition, his education, and the subject of all interchange of ideas.

There is communication between Monte Video and Buenos Ayres three times a week by steam; between those towns and the provinces of the Parana and Paraguay, once or twice. The fare between the two cities is eight patagons, or dollars; and the arrangements for sleeping and eating (included in the above sum) are both comfortable and liberal. In the tour I made to Buenos Ayres, we started at four o'clock P.M., and were at anchor in the inner roads before that place at four the next morning, the distance about 120 miles.

The harbour, or rather roads, of Buenos Ayres is most inconvenient for a commercial port. The outer road, for ships of any draught, is from six to eight miles from the town; the inner road has an intricate entry for vessels drawing more than eight feet. Landing is made in boats; but as even these cannot approach within some hundred feet from the shore, horses and

* The sources from which these and all other statistics concerning the provinces are taken, are the *Registro Estadistico del Estado di Buenos Ayres por Justo Maeso*, and *Almanaque de Escritorio, Commercial y Estadistico para* 1859. Besides, I consulted the Spanish translation, with copious notes by Maeso, of Sir Woodbine Parish's *History of Buenos Ayres, brought down to* 1856. Also, an excellent German work on these provinces by André, of Leipsic.

carts are further used for embarking and disembarking passengers and merchandise. Two long wooden jetties have lately been erected, but they cannot be reached by any except very small boats at low water. It is easy to understand the importance attached by Rosas to the possession of Monte Video, which, with the deeper water and the proximity of its bay to the city, is so much more favourably situated for commerce than Buenos Ayres. Monte Video has already wonderfully improved since the settling of the La Plata question, and must eventually become the great emporium of trade for all the upper waters of the La Plata. At the present time foreign flags, covering more than 200 tons, are only permitted to mount the Parana, and as the navigation is both tedious and dangerous, the produce of those parts is brought down in small craft, and reshipped in Buenos Ayres or Monte Video. Large vessels, therefore, to be freighted with the produce of those parts, save both expense and risk by taking their cargo on board in Monte Video.

The city of Buenos Ayres rises only a few yards above the river level, by a gradual ascent. It resembles Monte Video as to its streets and buildings. The objects worthy of interest are the Plaza de la Victoria, with a statue of Liberty in the midst, the Cathedral being at one angle, the "Cabildo," or town-house, with the prison (in which revolts occur almost periodically), at another. On the east side, a triumphal arch separates it from another Plaza, that of the 25th of May, where there is a kind of fortress looking on the river, in which the viceroys formerly resided. There

are, further, two more large squares, in remote parts of the city; a good opera-house; a Spanish theatre; markets; comfortable and cheap hotels; well-furnished shops; an exchange, where money is made and lost in threepenny bank-notes; a club for foreigners, and one for the Porteños; three hospitals, a public library, and a museum.

In the streets you come in contact with men who are amiable, if you address them; with women, who are young and beautiful, and whom you would like to address, only they are followed by others, old and ugly, their dueñas, whose sour looks soon neutralize that desire; with soldiers, black and white, in tarnished and tattered uniform; with priests, in long black garments, and broad, shovel hats; with an occasional Gaucho, out of his element in the town; with numbers of horses, standing still, or hopping about with their fore feet strapped together, while their masters are visiting or trading; but not once did I see a beggar on horseback, as some travellers have mentioned.

The Gaucho lives on horseback, and what he does by nature the foreigner is compelled to do by circumstances. So I hired me a horse, and had the luxury of an English saddle, the use of which I had almost forgotten, from long riding either with Japanese saddles, or on bare-backed horses, or with divers imitations of horse-trappings, to which I had been obliged to have recourse in my previous excursions. And in this manner, either alone or accompanied, I explored the country for miles round the city, and if the reader accompany me, he will, I hope, have an idea of as much as I saw.

The roads in the vicinity of the city are tolerable, especially that leading to the Pueblo of San Fernando; but beyond, and, indeed, in all the La Plata country, they are mostly straggling tracks, worn bare of verdure by the tramp of man or beast, and deep with either dust or mud. One league from the city is the "Quinta" of Rosas; a low building, now mildewed and neglected, but which in the days of his power resounded with the voice of gaiety. Here he was accustomed to give his fêtes to the Porteños and fair ones of Buenos Ayres, and the surrounding gardens, moats, groves of orange and lemon trees, avenues of willows, and half-finished fountains, all wild in neglect, exhibit a wilderness, where once was an Eden. In one part of the ground was formerly a brig, thrown about half a mile inland by a rising of the waters of the river, and of this Rosas made a summer-house and ball-room; since his overthrow it has been removed.

The country around the city is monotonous in the extreme, although one or two eminences, the hedges of cactus, or some pretty quinta enclosed in trees, give a little variety to the scene. Farther out, one unbroken plain, the vast Pampas extends for hundreds of leagues to the Cordilleras of Chili, and to the shores of the Straits of Magellan. There, often leagues from each other, are the "estancias," or cattle-farms, where the Gaucho grows up as wild as the cattle he tends; these become more and more remote, till the roving tribes of Indians are encountered and a life of frontier warfare begins.

The chief place of interest for a stranger is the "Saladeras," or establishments for curing hides and

beef. These are situated in the Pueblo of La Banaca, on a small navigable river, which enters the La Plata not far from the city. On the road thither are the "Mataderas," covering about two acres, where corrals of strong, crooked stakes are filled with cattle. Early in the morning this place presents a busy scene: the butchers from the town choose a bullock or two, as required, from the corrals; a lasso is thrown over their horns by the mounted Gaucho, who spurs his horse, and drags the unfortunate animal into the open space; another Gaucho whirls the bolas round its hind legs, and brings it to the ground; another man is then ready, who gives the animal a stab in the neck; and five minutes after, its flesh is already packed in the cart to convey it to the city. Meanwhile the mounted Gauchos have ridden back to the corral, to recommence. As many as eighty or a hundred oxen are thus killed every day, for the consumption of the city. There are groups in all costumes: "Estancieros," from the Pampas; the proprietors of the Saladeras buying droves of oxen; men, women, and young children, bathed in blood, pools of which and carcases of animals are scattered about over all the space, while the stench of blood is sickening.

But this is nothing compared with what is seen at the Saladeras. Those we first visited belonged to M. Cambacières, whom we had already seen buying oxen at the Mataderas. This well-informed Porteño, who spoke French exceedingly well, showed us over his establishment, and explained its details. They were that day killing mares, more than five hundred of which pretty creatures were penned up in a corral.

These corrals communicate one with another, a portcullis door being between each two. The last is in the shape of a pear, strongly boarded in, and surrounded by a platform; in the narrow end is a truck, which moves from it on iron rails up and down a long shed; a strong bar of wood crosses the opening where the truck fits into the narrow end of the corral, and on this bar is a block, through which the lasso runs, having one end fastened to the saddles of two Gauchos, while the noose remains in the hands of the Matador on the platform. When all is ready, the Gauchos ride into the farther corral, drive the animals into the pear-shaped one, and the portcullis is dropped. The Matador whirls his lasso sometimes over the heads of three or four mares at once, gives a signal to the mounted Gauchos, who spur their horses, and the mares are dragged on to the moving platform, with their heads against the bar; the Matador then strikes them on the head with a heavy iron hammer, the truck moves up the shed, and another mounted Gaucho with a rope drags them off the truck on either side of the tramroad, when other men are ready to skin and cut them up. The same mode is adopted with oxen, only they are killed by a stab of a knife in the neck, which divides the spinal marrow. The first stab is generally sufficient; the animal ceases to feel instantaneously. The only suffering for the poor beasts is being kept long in the corrals without food and water, sometimes for two or three days.

Barbarous as it seems to a European to see horses thus slaughtered for their skins, it is a painful necessity. The Gaucho will never ride on a mare, and if a

stranger were to venture to do so he would be hooted and jeered by every urchin he met. The Gaucho is far from being like the Arab, who, it is known, rides only mares, and treats them a little more kindly than human beings. But the Gaucho will not only not ride mares, but treats the horses he does ride in a most barbarous manner: his spurs have points an inch in length, and, on a journey, these are applied to the blood-stained sides of the beast till he drops exhausted. What does that matter to the rider? he easily finds another; in fact, in the country they have hardly any value at all. The rotting carcase or the skeleton of a horse by the wayside is a usual sight, even in the vicinity of the city of Buenos Ayres. Among the five hundred mares above mentioned, three were saved from the fate of the others by an English gentleman, who had lately brought with him from England three fine horses, and was about to try to improve the breed. For these three mares he paid only sixteen shillings each.

The five hundred mares were killed and disposed of in about six hours. In many establishments as many as eight hundred horses or oxen are slaughtered every day, and that nearly throughout the year. In winter only, when the animals are not fat, is there a little relaxation.

In the long shed above mentioned, the work of dismembering the animals is going on, and the expertness with which it is performed may be judged of by the fact that five minutes hardly elapse from the time the ox leaves the corral before it is already cut up and salted. The men employed in this work are Basques, and often children with faces like angels

are among them deep in blood and revelling in their disgusting work. When the hide, the principal object of value, is removed, the flesh is cut in lumps off the carcase, and removed to other hands, which slice it, and throw it in brine, from which it passes to still other hands which pack it in stacks with layers of salt between. The flesh is turned every day for a few days, until it is dried by the air, and in that state forms the *carne secco*, which is exported in vast quantities to Havana, the Brazils, Chili, Peru, and the African coasts. The hides are salted in the same manner, the superfluous brine running from the meat to the reservoir which contains them. Most of the salt used is brought from Cadiz.

The bones undergo a different treatment. Those containing marrow are subjected to the action of steam, and the fat thus procured is likewise largely exported to the same places as the meat, besides being much used as butter by the natives, who are excessively fond of it. The rest of the bones, entrails, and all that contains fat are steamed in another vat for tallow. The tongues are salted and consumed at home. The sinews, horsehair, &c. are also utilized, but still there is an enormous waste, for everything is performed in a very rough manner on account of the high price of labour. Formerly, only the hides were taken, and the rest left to perish on the spot.

The mares are killed for their hides and hair alone. The flesh is useless, and is either burnt or thrown away. The proprietor pointed out to me a plot of ground which he had formerly caused to be excavated to raise the ground of his premises, and the holes had

been entirely filled up with mare's flesh. Most of the men employed keep huge and disgusting swine, which they fatten on the flesh and blood thus obtained without stint. Thousands of sea-gulls whiten the air and the ground, revelling on the disgusting remains. The small quantity of fat procured from the flesh and bones of the mares contains but little stearine or hard fat. The refuse is strained from it by hanging it in long bags, through which a clear though dark coloured oil drips out. This is chiefly used for burning in lamps.

The furnaces are fed entirely with flesh, bones, and refuse, and the stench which is produced from the reeking blood, the ammoniacal fumes from the scorching bones and other substances are quite enough to sicken the strongest stomach. The residue or bone ash has lately become a valuable export to Europe, where it is used as manure. Soap and candles are also made in these factories for home consumption.

In the three "Partidos" of the province of Buenos Ayres alone there were, according to the returns of 1858, 3,875,742 horses, 8,672,675 oxen, and 1,385,280 sheep. In the year 1838, the number of horned cattle did not exceed four millions, but since the Pampas south of the Salado has been cleared of Indians, and the country in general become more settled, the above enormous increase has taken place. The same with the sheep, the wool of which was formerly so coarse, that it was only fit for carpets; whereas since the improvement of the breed by a cross with fine-woolled sheep, it is largely exported for finer manufactures.

The exportation for 1858 consisted of 969,604 dry, and 318,304 salted ox hides; 68,874 dry and 120,757 salted horse hides; wool to the amount of 37,423 fardos; tallow, 240,362 cwt.; besides horns, oil, bones, and hair. The number of ships in which these were exported was 404.

If the returns given for 1851, the last year of Rosas' dictatorship, be correct, the number of hides then exported exceeded by nearly a million those exported in 1858, and in other commodities the same difference may be seen, on comparing the tables for the two years. Thus what Rosas apprehended has come to pass. The opening of the rivers in 1853 has caused most of the export trade of the upper provinces to pass through Monte Video. Maeso, in his statistics, remarked already the same falling away in 1854. Against 508 vessels of the coasting trade, of 7,352 tons, which entered Buenos Ayres, were 593 vessels, of 16,182 tons, which entered Monte Video.

During our stay in Buenos Ayres, took place the election of the president for the next three years, when General Mitré was chosen. As before said, his policy is in favour of the union of Buenos Ayres to the other thirteen States composing the Argentine Confederation, but he seems to belong to the minority, and was only chosen for want of somebody better. The men who are really capable of holding such a post with distinction to themselves and benefit to their country, are the most unwilling to sacrifice their peace in the seething vortex of Argentine politics, and so refuse all the offers of their would-be partizans. On the occasion of the present election, there was plenty

of patriotic oratory, promises, and pompous journalism, yet very little public enthusiasm. The threepenny bank-notes on the Exchange even decreased in value. The next evening there was a representation, at the Spanish theatre, of a comedy by a Buenos Ayrean, and the newly sworn president attended in state. He was received with respect by those in the corridors as he passed through; in the house a few people stared at him, but not a hum of enthusiasm was heard; the national hymn was sung very badly by a young lady, and loudly applauded, and the comedy, a very soporiferous one, proceeded.

On another occasion much more public enthusiasm was shown under far different circumstances. This was the translation of the remains of some of the members of General Urquiza's family from the cemetery of Buenos Ayres on board a steamer for Santa Fé, the present seat, I believe, of the Federal Government. Urquiza, it will be remembered, was at the head of the revolution which caused the downfall of Rosas, and has, since that time, either as president of the Confederation, or commander-in-chief of its army, been obliged three times to blockade the rebellious city of Buenos Ayres. The Porteños paid all honour to his family; 125 carriages followed the funeral cars; the streets were crowded with the inhabitants; minute guns were fired, and a discharge of rockets in broad daylight took place in the Plaza de la Victoria.

The two large markets, one of the eastern, the other of the southern district of the province, are well worthy of a visit at early morn. Files of cumbersome

waggons are ranged along the open space, their burden of wool roughly packed; piles of hides and other skins are placed here and there. The picturesque Gaucho and the town-clad merchant are conversing over their horses' necks, examining the quality of the wool, or galloping up and down from one group to another. The "Capitaz," or conductor of a convoy of waggons, and his peons, are stretched on the ground beside the waggons, sucking up their maté through a silver stem, smoking their cigarettes of black tobacco, or sleeping. Now and then may be seen some specimen of the natural history of the southern Pampas, a guanaco, an armadillo, some young ostriches, or other animal, only to be seen in zoological gardens in Europe. In these markets may be found instruction for the student of human kind, many a subject for an artist's pencil, and, sometimes, in the wild song of the Gaucho, an idea for the master of harmony of the music of a people inhabiting the most dreary and monotonous regions of our globe.

The "Gaucho," the man of the Pampas, is generally of pure Spanish blood, degenerated, if you will, by neglect, by living in the solitude of nature and continually combating with her. His physical intelligence, so to speak, has been increased by the dangers in the midst of which he lives, while his mental culture has been impossible, or has been opposed by himself with an obstinacy which has become his pride. His familiarity with blood and the death-throes of animals dates from his early childhood, so that a man expiring from his violence causes him no shock of feeling. It is only when repeated bursts of passion

and murder have made him an outcast from his brethren that he feels even the impropriety of his acts. The inhabitant of the city, and especially the foreigner, he regards as his enemy, for as he views the squalidness of his own home and family, and the neatness and well-being of the others, the contrast is too much for his haughty ignorance. Education and town life he despises, unless they are coupled with expertness in riding, throwing the lasso, and chasing an infuriated ox. On the other hand, he has the greatest respect for the musician and the poet, the story-teller and the traveller who can converse with him. His religion is a reflection of the Catholic; his passions are wayward and strong, and in the hands of those who understand how to control him and his passions, he is a useful and even an affectionate follower. Rosas, and Rivera, his opponent in Uraguay, were both pure Gauchos, who passed the early part of their lives in the solitude of the Pampas, in tending cattle, and not dreaming either of them, perhaps, of the part they would afterwards play in the political affairs of La Plata.

His national dress consists in loose white drawers, sometimes embroidered at the bottom; a shawl of some kind doubled corner-wise, two angles of which are folded round his waist, the third passed between the legs, and the whole confined by a girdle (a most comfortable garment for riding a long journey); a European shirt, and over all the poncho, a square piece of cloth with a hole in the centre for the head to pass through. Beneath the poncho across the back, he wears his long knife, a formidable blade more than a foot long, and which he is only too ready to use at

the slightest affront. In the towns a high pair of boots cover his feet, but in the Pampas, the skin from the hind leg of a horse, drawn on wet and allowed to stiffen there, answers the same purpose. A silk hankerchief is mostly worn round the head, turban fashion. In his fêtes he may be seen sometimes in a short jacket with bright buttons. The ornaments he wears, and the trappings of his horse, are of silver; his large cumbrous stirrups and still more formidable spurs are of the same metal, or plated. In general all the Gaucho wears, his poncho, knife, and horse-trappings, are all made in England, in imitation of those formerly made in the country, and which have become national.

But the "Gaucho" *pur sang* is now becoming a rarity, for their numbers were terribly thinned by the continued civil wars, and especially by the exhausting conscription practised by Rosas. Their place is now supplied by the immigration, and as the immigrants immediately on their arrival in the country adopt the costume of the Gaucho, they are often confounded with the former by strangers.

As North America and Australia seem destined to receive the surplus population of the Teutonic race, so these States offer a home to the superfluity of the Latin races. The State of Buenos Ayres, the most important of them all, occupying a space of 5,160 square leagues, had in 1824 a population of only 163,216. The population of the city of Buenos Ayres alone in 1858 was 119,886 souls, of whom 58,442 were Argentines, the rest 32,855 foreigners, and 28,589 undetermined. In the four preceding years the differ-

ence between those who arrived and those who left the province was 34,436, immigrants mostly, who were soon dispersed in the campaña.

The total number of inhabitants of the countries of the La Plata, Bolivia excepted, and the Indian tribes not included, is about 2,100,000, scattered over a country embracing 1,250,000 square miles. This would give about $1\frac{2}{3}$ persons to the square mile. To show the contrast with other countries, it may be remarked that Brazil has $2\frac{1}{4}$, the United States 8, Russia 28, and England 332 to the same space.

Maeso, in his copious statistics and remarks on the state of Buenos Ayres, gives much information which is also applicable to the other provinces, and which I shall notice, to give the reader an idea of the social state of the country.

Of foreigners, the most numerous are the Spaniards, including Spanish Basques; British, Italians, French, Portuguese, and German, come next, in the order here given. The British possess the bulk of the export and import commerce, or are the proprietors of estancias and sheep farms in the interior. The Spaniards, Italians, and Portuguese are chiefly employed in the navigation of the river, as small shopkeepers, cooks, labourers, &c. Of the French, some are traders in the productions of their country, but the majority, as in other parts of the world, seem to be waiters in hotels, barbers, milliners, &c. The Basques, French and Spanish, who are settled here in large colonies with their families and pastors, are the most hard-working classes of the community, their labour being brick-making, agriculture, mechanics, and the business

of the Saladeras. They are a most industrious, thrifty race, save large sums of money, which they either remit to Europe, or invest, by funding together their earnings, in mortgages on the houses and property of the natives. The Spaniards and Italians, mostly Sardinians, seem also in these countries to be both industrious and saving. The few Germans there are occupy themselves principally with sheep farms and in commerce.

I mentioned before that many foreigners have married women of the country. In 1854, 892 marriages took place in Buenos Ayres, and during a part of that year, when a more correct account was kept, it was found that out of seventy-nine marriages of native women, twenty-six, or a third part, were to foreigners. The same year, also, there was found, by census, to be 4,614 widows among a female population of 25,000 over twenty years of age, showing the ravages which the wars of Rosas had made among the male population of the campaña. In spite of this, however, the male population exceeds the female by 25 per cent., owing to the immigration being chiefly of young and single men.

Experience has shown that the seducing title of "Buenos Ayres," given by the first discoverers to this country, is exaggerated, if not wholly undeserved. The traveller would also bear away with him a false impression, if he were to judge of the climate by the gentle breezes, the more than Italian sky, and the gorgeous sunsets, where the heavens, from the horizon to the zenith, are painted with blended hues from the darkest purple to the faintest tinge of yellow. Pro-

perly speaking, the climate is the wind, the north and he south-west prevailing, and the change from the ormer to the latter not unfrequently lowers the hermometer twenty or thirty degrees. The north, he prevailing wind, traversing the marshy region hroughout the whole length of the La Plata rivers, rings with it damp, in summer insupportable heat, nd excites in the human body a nervousness and rritability often attended by fatal results. The effects f the sirocco in the Levant, or the supposed baneful nfluence of our own dog-days on animal nature, is ere more determined and deleterious. Sir Woodbine Parish mentions in his work, that bloodshed, and sudden outbursts of anger leading to it, are more requent during north winds, and quotes one or two examples. The mysterious Dr. Francia, the Dictator f Paraguay, was known to be more savage and eccenric in his acts with a north wind, and was then voided as much as possible by his dependants. A oreign physician at the hospital of Monte Video nformed us that many excitable people remain in the ouses during the time it lasts, and that colder-blooded eople then forbear by any means to excite the irritaility of the people of the country. I myself saw a egro, a Spaniard, and two Gauchos at a little village short distance from Monte Video, working under the uperintendence of an armed soldier. I could not letect the least symptom of a ferocious or cruel nature n their features, but, if anything, the reverse. I nquired their crime: "*Cuchillo e viente norte*" (knife nd north wind). Besides these evils, fresh meat ecomes putrid after a few hours; wounds, even slight

ones, heal with great difficulty, and old ones reopen. Tetanus is frequent from any tearing or wounding of the muscles, and surgeons ascribe it to the peculiarity of the atmosphere during north winds.

When these winds change, it is nearly always by thunder-storms, as violent as in any part of the world. The electricity then seems to centre itself over the towns, whose buildings are nearly always the highest points for leagues around in the treeless Pampas. The wind shifts round to the south-west, and the Pampero, the meteorological phenomenon of the country, commences. In a short time the air is purified, the thermometer falls, animal nature respires, and the atmosphere remains cool, elastic, and refreshing, till the north wind again begins to blow down its damp miasmata.

Yet intermittent fever does not seem to be as frequent as might be expected from the causes above stated. On the other hand, "Tetano," or "*mal de los siete dias*," a complaint of childhood, hooping-cough, phthisis, and pneumonia, are very prevalent. From some returns which I procured in Buenos Ayres, it would seem that nearly half the deaths are of children under three years of age, chiefly from the "*mal de los siete dias*" (disease of seven days), in which the child expires in spasms and tetanus. What seems the most inexplicable about this disease is, that the infants of foreigners seem to be free from its attack.

Contagious diseases are rare, yet three years ago the yellow fever was raging in Monte Video, and destroyed a great number of people. Its cause was ascribed to the effluvia from the gas, with which the

town had lately been lighted up. The gasworks were accordingly stopped, and since that time the streets have been illumined by miserable oil lamps. The true cause of the epidemic was afterwards found to have been the evasion of some persons from Rio from the Quarantine Island, who were either actually sick or bore the germs of the complaint in them. The town was again, I heard, to be lighted with gas.

The careless manner with which the records of immigration are kept forbids me to give the number of British who have lately settled in the country; I heard, however, there were a great many. There is also no doubt but that the resources of the country are becoming slowly developed. In spite of the internal troubles in Monte Video, land in that province which cost only 2,000 dollars the square league in 1852, cannot now be bought for less than 8,000 or 9,000. Numbers of British and Germans have established themselves as wool-growers, and are realizing large profits. One man, whose farm fortunately escaped the marauding soldiers of either party, cleared 90,000 dollars in one year by wool alone. The great drawback is the wanton destruction of stock by these roving banditti during the civil troubles; and although the foreigner is pretty sure to be awarded compensation by the triumphant party, yet the time which elapses before he receives it is ruinous to his hopes of fortune. With ten years' peace, a moderately well-stocked sheep-farm is pretty sure to realize a fortune.

For an Englishman, so many countries peopled by his own race are open, where a competence will surely reward his labour, that few would be tempted to try

their fortune among an alien race. Yet it is just there that an enterprising man of small capital is sure to succeed, amid the idleness, apathy, and procrastination which would surround him. To the mechanic, artizan, or labourer, the country can offer few attractions; all the skill of our surplus handicrafts or agriculturists can be better expended in the improvement of our future empires—Australia, the Cape, Columbia, or Canada.

We left Monte Video on the 20th of May, and ten weeks afterwards we were anchored in Plymouth Harbour. The voyage of two years had been accomplished under the most favourable circumstances, and only two men had died from sickness—a fact to be attributed to the excellent sanitary system adopted on board the three ships.

THE END.

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